A School History of Durham

By F. S. Eden

Oxford
At the Clarendon Press

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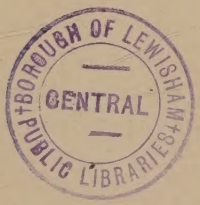
SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF DURHAM

BY F. S. EDEN



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PREFACE

My objects in writing this little book are to contribute a modicum of help to the movement in favour of vacation schools and school excursions, which has become so marked a feature of recent educational development, and to further the study of local history as part of the school curriculum, so far as the regulations of the Board of Education, at present, admit.

It is, happily, unnecessary to expatiate upon the benefits, mental and physical, which may be reaped by our children (evidenced by the excellent results already attained) by the judicious use of vacation schools and school journeys and excursions, because the subject has been thoroughly dealt with in vol. xxi of the series of Special Reports on Educational Subjects, issued in 1907 by the Board of Education.

With regard to the study of local history, there are, I believe, two methods which, combined, may enable school authorities and teachers to get good results. A book dealing with the subject can be selected as the continuous reader, which, supplemented by reference to a large scale map and by the teacher's own comments, will give the children a general idea of the history of

the country round about them, and, perhaps, though this depends more on the teacher than on the book, they may gather a little enthusiasm for the subject and some desire to know more about it.

The notion that there are interesting things to be found out about the towns, villages, and countryside by looking into their past story, having thus got into the children's minds, excursions, under the power given by the Board for a limited number of outdoor lessons in the course of each year, may be made to places of interest within a few miles of the school. The result will be that the children, coming into actual contact with existing historical monuments, handling, seeing, sketching, and measuring them (for they should be encouraged to do all these; of course, to do them in intelligent fashion), will apply the ideas got from the book to the concrete objects before them; and the end of all education, the development of their powers of observation, of putting two and two together, of drawing inferences, of weighing evidence, will be greatly furthered.

The following pages cannot supply more than an outline sketch of Durham history, and, perhaps, I may be allowed to suggest that Durham teachers would find help in this work of teaching local history if they were to get a first-hand acquaintance with, by visiting, again and again, the ancient churches and buildings in their immediate neighbourhoods, and were also to read such a book as Parker's *Introduction to Gothic Architecture*, with his glossary of Gothic Architecture at hand for reference, and Boutell's *English Heraldry*. Then they might go on to digest what is to be found in Surtees'

History of Durham and Billing's *Architectural Antiquities of Durham* about the places visited.

The County Palatine of Durham, owing to the peculiar circumstances, unique in England, under which it has continuously developed from Roman times to the present day, has an interest all its own. Of this County only can it be said, to quote the Chronicler Simeon of Durham, 'Stola judicat et ense'. Its ruler was both priest and king.

One feature in the history of the Palatinate especially calls for remark, the fact that its Records, legislative, judicial, and administrative, are singularly complete and well preserved. They will be found to throw light upon many questions connected with government and social conditions in the Middle Ages which the less complete Records of the kingdom at large often fail to solve.

The character of the County as *Imperium in imperio* has led me to base my treatment of its history upon the succession of the Prince-Bishops, and to deal with such subjects as styles of architecture and manners and customs incidentally, and as convenience served, in the course of the general history of the County. The connexion between Durham and the rest of England I have tried to keep prominently before the reader. The maps are mere sketches, intended to convey no more than general ideas, and I have inserted in them only place-names mentioned in the text.

My thanks are due to the Right Rev. Monsignor Corbishley for a photograph of Ushaw College, to the Rev. C. R. J. Sisley for a photograph of Ven. Bede's chair at Jarrow, and to Mr. E. Bailey, Secretary and

Librarian of the South Shields Public Library, for a photograph of the Roman Memorial Stone figured in Chapter II.

It should also be mentioned that some of the seals are copied from Surtees' *History of Durham*, and others from *The Charters of Finchale Priory*, published by the Surtees Society.

F. S. EDEN

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CHAPTER I

Concerning Britain North of Humber before the Romans came

When we want to find out the history of a place, a county for instance, there are two important questions about which we ought to inquire.

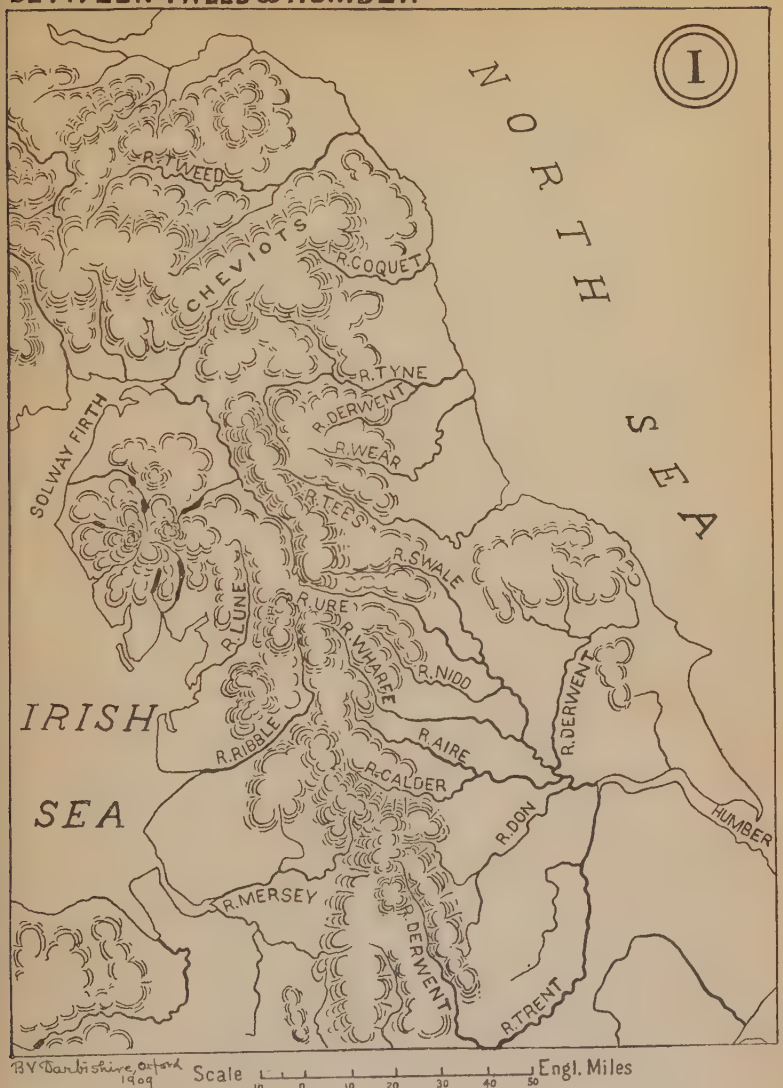
First, how the land surface was formed, and what changes it underwent as time went on; also what kind of rocks lie immediately under the surface. Secondly, we should ascertain what races of mankind have from time to time settled on the land.

Applying this method to our County, we must remember that the land, which for some centuries has been called the County Palatine of Durham, is part of a well-defined stretch of country, reaching from the rivers Humber and Trent on the south to the river Tweed on the north, and from the North Sea on the east to a long line of lofty hills and the Derbyshire river Derwent on the north-west and west. These hills, known as the Cheviots and the Pennine Range, start at a point about twelve miles from the mouth of the Tweed and run in a south-westerly direction to the Solway Firth, and thence southward into Derbyshire, where they slope down into the valley of the Derwent. Map I shows us this expanse of country, enclosed by mountains and hills, and, as is evidenced by the eastward flow of its rivers, sloping gradually to the North Sea, though not in an unbroken line.

As the tops of mountains and hills get gradually dried by the action of the wind, they become brittle and break

up into lumps, large at first and afterwards smaller and smaller, until they are small enough to be moved about by the wind and rain, and ground into soil. When the heavy autumn rains come, this soil, owing to the simple fact that water flows down and not uphill, is washed into the plains, and forms the fields upon which crops and pasture for cattle are grown. This process, which is always going on, is the agency by which the surface of the land between Humber and Tweed has been formed. As you would expect, the result in Durham County has been that, speaking broadly, the eastern part of the county, the lower part, consists of deep rich soil suited for agriculture; while the western part, being higher and constantly scoured by the action of the weather, cannot accumulate any great expanse of rich soil and is adapted only for growing forest trees, and heather and grasses for rough pasture.

This is the general view of the surface of our County, but reference to Map I shows us that there are several long rivers running through it. The beds of these rivers must be lower than the lands through which they run, and so there must always be a tendency for the soil to be washed down from the higher parts of these lands towards the river banks. Thus, every river valley in Durham County is an illustration of the natural process which formed the whole country between Humber and Tweed. Look now at the map and trace these rivers. They all rise in the higher and flow to the sea through the lower ground. The three principal of them, the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees, rise not very far from each other, in the bleak and wild moorland heights round Cross Fell and Kilhope, although they take very different roads to the sea. Each of these rivers is fed by many smaller rivers, which means that there are a great number of small valleys running into the large ones—still the same


BETWEEN TWEED & HUMBER
I
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
R. TWEED
CHEVIOTS
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R. WEAR
R. TEES
SOLWAY FIRTH
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B.V. Darbishire, Oxford 1909
Scale
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rule, the rain washing the worn-away soil from the heights into the low grounds and so filling them with thick layers of rich land, good for growing crops and garden stuff.

On the eastern side of the County, although it is lower, on the whole, than the western part, there are several hills which give birth, on their western slopes, to a number of minor rivers, some of which flow into the Wear, and others into the Skerne, which runs south into the Tees. On the eastern sides of these hills rise many little burns, which run into the North Sea through the wooded coast-valleys called denes. These you know, and when you spend a holiday at Hawthorn Dene or Castle Eden Dene, you will look carefully at the structure of these little valleys, and see how the heat in summer and the cold in winter have combined to split the rocks, and how the wind has dried the split portions and the rain and wind together have broken them up and worked them into smaller pieces, some of which have fallen into the valleys, and others have lodged in crevices in their sides, while all the time Nature has been laying out these denes, as gardens, with the trees and plants best suited to them.

We know, now, what the surface of the land in Durham County was like in the far-away times when the only human beings who set foot within its bounds were wandering hunters and trappers of wild beasts. In those days, and for centuries after man settled in North Britain, the bear had his lair in the caves of the sea-coast denes, and the howl of the wolf resounded at night over the moorlands. There were bisons, too, and other wild cattle, and the wild boar roamed through the wooded valleys, while eagles in plenty had their eyries in the rocky cliffs of the river valleys.

As people, gradually, took to doing something more

useful than hunting and fighting, they began to keep flocks and herds, and soon found out that, while the river valleys afforded good pasture for cattle, the western hill-country was adapted for sheep-feeding. The appearance of the country was very little altered by this gradual change from the hunter's to the shepherd's life, for shepherds have to move about a good deal, as their flocks eat up the grass and need fresh pastures. Shepherds, therefore, live mostly in tents, or in caves, where they exist, and they do not, as a rule, set up buildings of any size. After a time some people found, and it is hard for us to realize how great a discovery they made, that certain wild grasses could be so improved by careful cultivation as to yield food for man, and at last what we now call cereals (wheat, barley, rye, and similar grains) were brought to something approaching present-day corn-foods. As crops do not move about like sheep or cattle, people who took to farming found it convenient to live always in one place, close to their grain fields, and, of course, they had to build houses of a permanent kind. This was the origin of the farmhouse and farm buildings, and the building of the first rough farmstead in Durham was the initial step towards making the County what, in appearance, it is to-day.

In course of time other folk took to making needful furniture for the farmhouses and implements for working the farms, ploughs, carts, and suchlike, and this was the beginning of all the industries which we see to-day, in full swing, in every Durham town and village. Industrial work led to houses being built closer together than was needed by people engaged only in agriculture and cattle breeding. Thus towns were formed, and, after long years, came the big cities, with great roads leading from one to another, and connecting, by means of cross-roads, all the towns and scattered farms.

Another great discovery which has changed, to a wonderful degree, the appearance of the land in Durham County, was the use of coal, but of this we shall hear more later on.

By this time we have answered part of our first question—how the surface of the land in Durham was formed, and how its appearance has changed as years rolled by.

Now for the second part of this question—what rocks lie immediately under the surface of our County? Astronomers tell us that the world was originally a heated mass of gaseous substance, whirling through space at an incredible rate, and also that as it flew onward, turning on its own axis, it came within the attractive power of the great star which we call the sun. Caught by this mighty power, of which it may have originally been a part, our world's path thenceforward was round and round the sun, and so, as you know, it goes to-day.

If nothing had ever happened inside our earth to affect its outside surface, it would, by the friction arising from the rapid whirling on its own axis, have got, as the outside gradually cooled, a perfectly smooth surface, like a billiard ball. There could have been no mountains, valleys, or plains, and the world would not have been adapted for the support of living things. But something did happen inside the earth, and what happened is always happening. The various gases which are generated in the interior of the earth by heat and chemical action, from time to time, cause, in some parts, expansion of the rocks forming the inner part of the earth's crust, and drive them with tremendous force against the outer part of the crust, forcing it outwards. In some instances the outer crust gets torn open, and the rocks of the inner part are pushed up through the fissures so made, and piled in great heaps on the earth's surface. At other

II

DURHAM
GEOLOGICAL

times, and this is the principal process which brings about the irregularities in the earth's surface, its outer crust is made, by the internal agencies we have spoken about, to rise and fall in wave-like shapes. By these, and similar means, the originally smooth surface of the earth got broken up into mountains and valleys as we see it all round us.

Map II shows that the high lands in the west of Durham County, which constitute the eastern slope of the Pennine range, are principally made up of limestone rocks. These rocks have been heaved up to their present slanting position by the kind of action we have spoken about, although they were originally deposited by the action of water, and must have formed the bottom of an ancient sea. It is, as you can see by looking at the map, upon the broken upturned edges of these rocks that you would stand if you were on the mountain slope in the extreme west of Durham ; and, if you were to walk from north to south only, and back again, you would not step on any kind of rock other than the limestone, because its upturned edge runs from north to south. If, however, you were to start walking eastward, you would soon find yourself on the upturned edge, also running north and south, of the rock called millstone grit (from which grindstones are made), which ages ago was deposited, by the action of water, on the then flat surface of the limestone rock, and which was upheaved with the limestone because it was on top of it.

You might continue your eastward walk until you had crossed the upturned edges of the rocks in Durham County which lie above the millstone grit, and had arrived at the sea coast. Our geological map makes this quite plain, and you can there see the names of these rocks. The ridges or sills of basalt shown in the map, though now hard, were once liquid, and in that form

were forced up from great depths in the earth in the course of some great volcanic eruption which must have happened in very ancient times.

It is time that we gave some attention to finding out what races of men have settled down, and lived their lives, in our County, and are, indeed, the forefathers of most folk living in Durham to-day.

In all inquiries into the beginning of things, whether we want to know the make of the ground under our feet, or the kind of men who first lived upon it, we have to go a long way back, so far that written records are of no use to us, for the facts we are inquiring about occurred, either ages before man existed, or long before he was able to keep written records of his doings.

We must turn to that vast plain of Northern Europe which reaches from the Ural Mountains in the east to the Atlantic Ocean in the west. Perhaps you know that all European peoples, with three exceptions, the Hungarians, the Finns and Laps in the North, and the Basques on the borders of Spain and France, belong to that family of mankind which is called Aryan, and that it was somewhere in the great plain of which we have spoken that the Aryans had their origin. Thence they spread into the peninsulas which form the southern parts of Asia and Europe, in Asia into India, and in Europe into Greece, Italy, and Spain—driving out, as they pressed onwards, other nations of non-Aryan ancestry. From their birth-place, too, these Aryan peoples branched out to the West, across Europe to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, and even beyond, to the islands which, in after years, came to be called Britain and Ireland. No doubt these westward-moving Aryans, whom we call Celts, found other tribes of men settled in the lands through which they passed, whom they slew, drove out or enslaved, and that in time they were, in their turn,

pressed upon by other waves of migration—by their own relations, the descendants of those whom they had left in their ancestral home. This process—one nation pressing upon and driving out another—is generally a very slow and gradual one, taking centuries to carry out, and you must not suppose that when we speak of the onward march of the Aryans from their original home, we mean a continuous march like that of an army. What we mean is that they, gradually, in most cases very slowly indeed, shifted their homes, sons and daughters leaving their parents, and settling among strangers. In some cases,

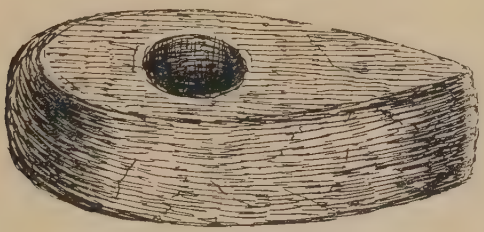
Worked Flint

no doubt, violent and rapid changes took place, tribes seeking fresh lands on which to settle, attacking and driving away others already on the land.

This, then, was the process by which Britain was peopled by the Celts, to which Aryan nation the natives of the British Isles belonged when we first hear of them in history.

Although there are slight allusions by old Greek writers to the British Islands, under the names of Cassiterides or Tin Islands, and of Albion, the White Island, it is from the Romans that we first hear anything authentic of our country. From the writings of the Roman general, Julius Caesar, who invaded Britain

in the year 55 B.C., we know that the Britons of those days had advanced far beyond the social conditions of those early times which have left to us the mysterious stone monuments, such as Long Meg and her daughters near Penrith, which are scattered about our islands, and the stone and flint implements fashioned by men of whom we have no certain knowledge except that they must have existed, which are found imbedded in the river gravels and in the drift left by the icebergs which, many ages ago, scraped over the greater part of Britain. The Britons had reached the farmer or agricultural stage



Stone Axe-head

in human progress, tilling the ground and possessing flocks and herds, and knowing, too, the art of weaving cloth for garments, and how to fashion metals, gold, silver, bronze, and iron, into shapes suitable for ornaments, weapons, and tools of various kinds. The Britons who lived far inland and in the northern and western parts of the island, were less civilized than the dwellers on the south-east coast, because trading was constantly going on between these coast Britons and the Celts of the Continent, and they would thus soon learn about new ways of doing things, and would hear from Gaulish merchants what was happening in far-away parts of the Roman Empire.

These British Celts were divided into tribes, each one presided over by a prince, who led his tribesmen in battle. It is probable, too, that there was usually one among the princes superior to the rest, under whom all the tribes combined to repel invasions of the island.

The country between Humber and Tyne was inhabited by a tribe called the Brigantes, and we cannot say truly that we know anything certain of them, beyond what may be gathered from a Roman writer named Caius Cornelius Tacitus, who, about A.D. 61, wrote a book called *Concerning the Customs and Peoples of Germany.* As the Germans were of the same race as the Britons, what Tacitus says of them is probably true of their British relations. You will some day read this book of Tacitus, but for the present it will content you to know that in A.D. 79, in the reign of the Emperor Vespasian, the Roman general Agricola (who was father-in-law to Tacitus) pushed his way into the northern parts of Britain and reduced the Brigantes and other tribes to the Imperial obedience, and so made all Britain south of the Firth of Forth part of the Roman Empire.

Questions and Suggestion

1. What has caused the disappearance of the forest trees which formerly covered the western moor-lands?
2. Why is the soil deeper and richer in the valleys than on the hills?
3. Read Kingsley's *Chalk-Stream Studies.*

Roman Memorial Stone

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CHAPTER II

About North Britain under the Romans

Some of the Aryan peoples went south, until they reached the Adriatic Sea. Here the stream of migration divided; one part passed down into the Peninsula and Islands of Greece, and the other made its way into the neighbouring Peninsula of Italy. In Italy was founded, in course of time, the city of Rome, destined to become the head city of that mighty empire which, by virtue of obedience to one law—the Roman law—was to weld the whole western world into a united whole.

We must never forget that these early Aryan dwellers in the Italian Peninsula were akin, though separated by time and circumstances, to the Britons, whom they were eventually to fight and conquer.

The conquests of the Romans spread gradually across the mainland of Europe in a north-westerly direction, but when they reached the ocean, there came a pause in their onward march, for the sea, owing to the peril involved in crossing it in the small ships of old days, always, for a time, at least, gave pause even to a conqueror's steps. The Celts of the European mainland must have had relations, perhaps both commercial and warlike, with their brethren the Britons, and we know that it was from the talk of Gaulish merchants that Julius Caesar first heard of Britain and of the richness of its soil and mineral treasures.

Caesar, in his book about the Gallic War, tells us that

in the year 55 B.C. he passed over into Britain with two Roman legions, and that after some fighting with the natives and spying out of the land, he returned the same year to Gaul. Next year he came again, and again withdrew his army on the approach of winter.

The beginning of the real conquest of Britain by the Romans was made A.D. 43, when the Emperor Claudius, having first sent over an army of four legions and auxiliary troops, came in person to the Island.

From that time onward, Roman troops remained in Britain for nearly 500 years, and, during the greater part of that period, Roman law held the Britons in peace. The Romans always maintained in Britain a large army to keep out of the Roman provinces (which comprised England and Wales) the wild and warlike peoples, the Picts of Scotland and the Scots of Ireland. These nations were a constant danger to Roman civilization in Britain, and their near neighbourhood explains the fact that, although there was a regular civil government established in Britain, the greater number of the buildings erected by the Romans were of a military character. Not that great cities and beautiful houses were wanting, for there were many such scattered about the country, and we know from the remains that have been discovered that the cities were all miniatures of the great city herself, Rome, and the houses were built on the same plan as those of the citizens of the Imperial city.

Wherever the Roman arms went, Roman law went too, so that, when the uncivilized peoples had been brought by force of arms to orderly living, they might have a law by which to regulate their lives. For good orderly living there must be judges and officers to administer the law, and the country must be divided

into districts, or, as the Romans called them, Provinces. This necessary rule was followed in Britain, as in other parts of the Roman Empire, and Roman Britain consisted of six Provinces. The most northerly but two of these Provinces was called Maxima Caesariensis, and it comprised as well the greater part of the stretch of country, the formation of which we have read about, as the present counties of Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Lancashire; so that the whole country between the Mersey and the Humber on the south, and the Tyne and Solway Firth on the north, was included in the Province of Maxima Caesariensis.

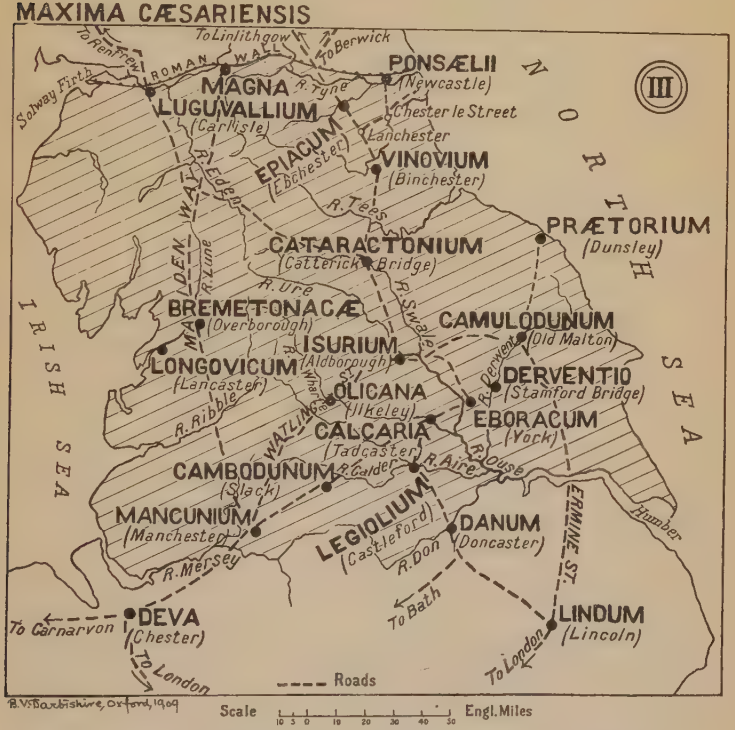
Map III makes this quite clear, and shows that Durham County was but a small part of this Province, although, owing to its proximity to the country of the Picts, it played an important part in the defence of Roman Britain.

If we had travelled in Britain in A.D. 120, when the great head of the whole Roman world, the Emperor Hadrian, was living at York, among the things which we should have seen, we should have been, I think, especially impressed by the cities, the roads, the military stations, and the great Roman Wall.

As far as we can tell, there was no Roman city between Tyne and Tees; although there were several military stations surrounded with dwelling-houses and other buildings. The centre of Roman authority in the north of Britain was the city of Eboracum (York), and there the Provincial Governor and his immediate officers lived.

When Julius Agricola was sent (A.D. 78) by the Emperor Vespasian to reduce the northern parts of Britain to order—you remember it was only seventeen years after the great rebellion of the southern Britons under Boadicea, and the country was still much dis-

turbed—it was at Eboracum that Agricola made his head quarters, and when, forty-one years after, the Roman Emperor Hadrian, as we have seen, came himself to Britain with, it is believed, his Empress, he took up his



residence in the same city. In later times, Constantine the Great, Christian Emperor of Rome, was born at Eboracum, and, altogether, that city held a very important place in the Roman system of government.

At York there are many remains of Roman buildings to be seen, and in the museum there are altars and other Roman antiquities. There, too, you may still walk

round the greater part of the city on the old walls, built by the Romans for its defence.

The Romans knew that, if the benefits of their rule were to be permanently secured to the Britons, and if the sovereignty of Roman law was to be maintained over the land which had been won from barbarism by so much hard fighting, there must be quick and easy means of communication; good roads were essential.

They therefore made great, straight roads across Britain in every direction. In the south of England there were, among other roads, the Watling Street from the sea at Dover, through London, to Chester and Caernarvon in the west; the Ermine Street from Anderida (Pevensey) on the south coast, through London to Lincoln; and the Fosse way from Cornwall, through the city called by the Romans Aqua Solis, and now Bath, to Lincoln. In the Province of Maxima Caesariensis (refer to Map III) these three great roads met at Isurium (by the Saxons renamed Aldborough), the capital city of the Brigantes, before the Romans came, and which under the Romans became a great centre of culture, and was, perhaps, in this respect, superior even to Eboracum.

Northward, from Isurium, the great road ran to Cataractanium, a Roman military station consisting of a walled camp, extending over about nine acres. Within this camp have been discovered foundations of dwelling-houses, with tiled floors, also pottery, coins, and sculptured stones of Roman design. Here the road again divided, the main highway crossing the Tees, at Pierce Bridge, into Durham, and running through Vinovium (the Saxon Binchester) to Longovicum (Lanchester),[1] where, on the

[1] There seem to have been two stations called Longovicum in Maxima Caesariensis—Lanchester in the north-east and Lancaster in the west—but both names have the same meaning.

hill to the west of the present village, you may see the remains of the Roman station, which was surrounded by a stone rampart, nearly twelve feet high, and had a deep fosse, or ditch, on one side, while the ground sloped downwards on the others. This camp was also protected by round towers at the corners. Here a large number of Roman altars, some of which you can examine in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, have been found, together with coins of the Emperors from Constantine to Valentinian. From Longovicum (Lanchester) a road ran north-east to South Shields, where there was a camp to protect the mouth of the Tyne. Here was found the memorial stone, a drawing of which is shown on p. 23, and which is now in the public library at South Shields. This stone was set up by a Roman officer (Greek by birth), one Barates, in memory of his British wife, Regina. Notice that the lady holds knitting-pins and wool, and her work-basket is on the ground at her feet.

Half-way between Lanchester and South Shields was the important station which we still call Chester-le-Street. Many Roman altars and coins have been found at this station, indicating by their forms an advanced degree of refinement and culture. A road ran from Chester-le-Street to the bridge over the Tyne, called *Pons Aelii*, the bridge of Aelius, so named because it was built A.D. 120 by the Emperor Hadrian, who belonged to the Aelian family.

From Lanchester northward the main road went on its way over the Derwent, near the crossing of which river there was a station called Vindomora, or perhaps *Epiacum* as in our map (Ebchester), where the foundations of the wall and ditch which surrounded the camp and of a watch-tower can be traced, and we see that the church, which stands

within the lines of the Roman camp, is built of Roman materials.

At the spot where this road crossed the Tyne, we can still see a fragment of the Roman bridge, while a little to the north-west of the bridge, and about six hundred yards from Corbridge Church (the tower of which is largely built of Roman stones), was a small town called

Roman Altar

Corstopitum (Corchester), covering about twenty-two acres, which owing to its proximity to Hadrian's great wall was probably not strongly fortified. The altar of which you have a drawing was dug up in this little town. It is dedicated to the Goddess Astarte, and we should judge, as the inscription is in Greek, that it was set up when Roman soldiers levied in the eastern parts of the Empire were in garrison at Corstopitum. Great numbers of Roman remains have been found at Corchester, and

among them is a beautiful silver dish, decorated with figures of the Goddesses Diana, Minerva, Juno, Vesta, and the God Apollo. Many coins also, some of great scarcity and value, have been dug up at this station, and as late as 1908 there has been a great find of this sort at Corchester, all which points to a good deal of commercial activity in this little Roman town in far-away days. About two-and-a-half miles north of Corchester, the main road passed out of the Province of Maxima Caesariensis through the wall of Hadrian into the Pro-

Roman Medal

vince of Valentia and so northwards, till it reached the wall of Antonine, where it turned sharp towards the west, and followed that wall in its course to the Firth of Clyde.

Thus we have traced this great Roman work, the Watling Street, from Dover in the south-east to the Roman walls in the north. Of the other military stations in Maxima Caesariensis, one of the most important was Old Malton (which some writers identify with the Roman Camulodunum[1] and others with Derventio) in Yorkshire,

[1] This place must not be confounded with the great Roman city of Camulodunum (Colchester) in Essex.

where the foundations of the camp can be clearly traced. You will notice too, from the map, that Carlisle stands on the site of the Roman city of Luguvallium. Many remains of the Roman occupation have been found there, among them the curious medal of the Emperor Vespasian shown in our illustration, which was struck to commemorate the victories of Vespasian and his son, Titus, over the Jews.

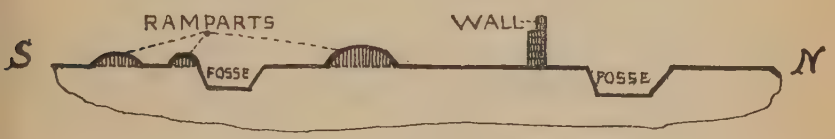
There were, besides the roads we have mentioned, many cross-roads connecting the smaller Roman settlements and the scattered British towns and villages with the larger places.

We have mentioned the Roman Wall, or the Wall of Hadrian. This great work, which was erected by order of the Emperor Hadrian when he was in Britain in A.D. 119, to help the Roman soldiers in preventing the Picts of Caledonia from invading Roman Britain, ran across the country from Wallsend, four miles from Tynemouth, to Bowness on the Solway Firth. A strong barrier, some seventy-three miles long, was thus thrown almost from sea to sea, so that while the Romans could not wholly subdue the Picts in the north part of Britain, they could at least secure the Roman peace south of the Wall.

Another object which the Romans had in view in building this wall, was that it might serve as a base for military operations in all directions, for it was not merely a wall, but also a regular series of strong fortifications in the form of castles, watch-towers, and military stations, often of an elaborate character and adapted for housing large bodies of troops. The wall itself was built of stone throughout its course, of an average breadth of eight feet and a height of about seventeen feet.

On the northern side of the Wall was a deep ditch or fosse, and on its southern side about a hundred feet from the Wall was another fosse, not so deep, with a high rampart of earth on its north side and two smaller ramparts to the south.

All these works ran side by side across the country, and taken together, made up the Wall of Hadrian. They did not always, however, keep close together, but took slightly different courses, as was found convenient. Between the stone wall and the earth ramparts was, perhaps, from a military point of view, the most important part of the work, the great paved road. The principal use of this



Section of Hadrian's Wall

road was to move troops and stores quickly from station to station along the line of wall. In addition, there was another road lying to the south of the main works, and running parallel with them along part of their course, called by the Saxons the Stanegate, which ran from Cilurnum on the north Tyne westward to Magna (Glenwhelt), and was intended, perhaps, more for the accommodation of civilians dwelling in and about these great military stations than of troops, and also as a means of reaching the important road, known as the Maiden Way, which connected the central and south-western parts of the Province with the Wall.

At every station along the Wall, there was a great gateway opening to the north, and affording ready exit for large bodies of troops in case of need. These gateways

were, of course, strongly guarded by the troops in garrison at the stations of which they formed parts, and the line of communication along the whole Wall was kept up by castles, one every mile, and by watch-towers at shorter distances. You will readily understand what a wise project, this of the Wall, was, and how it served, not only as a means of keeping the Picts in check, but also as a point of vantage in the event of insurrection among the southern Britons.

Some may, perhaps, ask what there is to tell of how Christianity was brought to North Britain in Roman days. This is a very sensible question, but not an easy one to answer shortly, because, for one reason, we have in Britain so few existing remains of buildings which show any indication of having been used as Christian churches during the Roman occupation. Within the province of Maxima Caesariensis there are none, and in South Britain there are only a few instances, mostly doubtful.

Even in Rome there were no Christian churches above ground until the beginning of the fourth century, and when we consider the disturbed state of Britain during the latter part of the Roman occupation, it seems likely that very few churches were built in our island in Roman times. It is probable that the same plan was followed in Britain as in Rome, where the earliest churches were in the houses of Christian patricians, in which the faithful met together at stated times for worship and prayer. This probability is rendered almost a certainty by a discovery which was made at the end of the eighteenth century at Frampton, in Dorsetshire. In excavating the foundations of a Roman villa there, a large room was unearthed, which had a semi-circular apse, with tessellated floor, having an ornamental border made up of circles, one of which contained the famous Christian symbol

☧, the Chi-Rho monogram as it is called, which is composed of the Greek capital letters Χ (Chi) and Ρ (Rho), the first two letters of the name Christos. This room was probably used as a Christian church. No doubt there were wealthy Roman Christians settled in North Britain, who, like the owner of the Frampton villa, gave hospitality to their fellow Christians for purposes of worship. In addition, there have been found at Corchester a small vessel of silver with the Chi-Rho monogram upon it, and, at Catterick Bridge, a piece of Samian ware marked with a cross. Altogether, there is very little to be told about Christianity in Britain in Roman times, and the most we can say is that there certainly were Christians, and probably very many, in Britain as in other parts of the Empire in those days; but in the fourth century the ages of persecution had too recently ceased for the Church to be so much in evidence as to have, except in rare instances, separate buildings for worship.

Towards the close of the fourth century the Roman legions which had been in Britain so long began to leave the island. In some cases they were drawn away by rival claimants for the Imperial dignity, who needed their services, and in others they were required to repel the onslaughts of the barbarous nations which were pressing upon the northern boundaries of the Empire on the mainland. The result was that Britain was drained of its young men, its fighting strength, and was unable to offer an effective resistance to the Picts and Scots, and to the adventurous bands of marauders from the continent who had, for many years, harassed the eastern and southern parts of the island; and when the last Roman legion was withdrawn from Britain in the time of the Emperor Honorius (who died A.D. 423), the Britons were finally

left to fight their own battles. How the northern Britons fared under these circumstances we shall learn in the next chapter.

Questions and Suggestions

1. What purposes were the roads made by the Romans intended to serve?
2. Take a modern map of Durham and trace upon it, in red, the Roman roads.
3. Write a short account of the Wall of Hadrian.

CHAPTER III

How the Sea-Rovers from Engle-land came up the Rivers in the North

The Celts were the first of those successive waves of Aryan migration which have, between them, formed the European nations as we know them to-day. The Britons were Celts, and they had not been settled for many centuries in our islands before they began to feel the pressure behind them of the oncoming rush of the next wave—their kinsmen whom they had left, years ago, in Europe, slowly making their way across the Continent to the Western Sea.

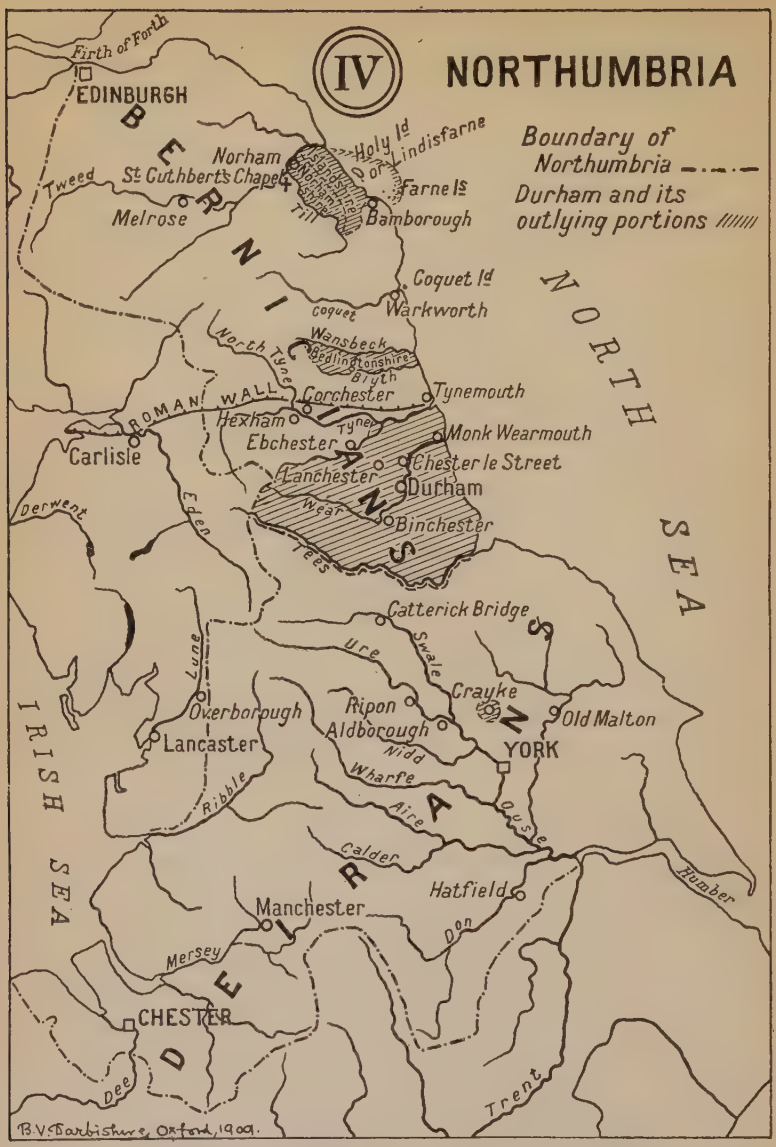
Had it not been for the four hundred years of Roman civilization in Britain, added to the existence of the narrow seas between Britain and the Continent, Britons would have felt the force of the presence on the mainland of their remote kinsmen long before they actually did. Even while the Roman garrisons in Britain still maintained the Imperial peace there, isolated bands from the Continent, principally of the German tribes called Saxons,

had established themselves, probably by more or less peaceful settlement, on the eastern and south-eastern coasts of Britain, which, from the Wash on the east coast to Portsmouth on the south, came to be called after them "the Saxon shore".

The final abandonment of Britain by the Romans about A.D. 446, was the signal for descent upon the island of larger, and ever larger, bands of Saxons, Engles, and Jutes from the German Lowlands by the North Sea. It is very little that we can know, from people who wrote at the time, of how the English conquest of Britain was worked out, as the only contemporary writings we have are an account, by a British monk named Gildas, of the conquest of Kent, and short notes of the conquests of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex in the compilation called the "English Chronicle". So far as North Britain is concerned, there is a fragment, said to have been written by one Nennius, telling of the coming of the conquerors in the North. We are, consequently, forced to fall back on books written by later English writers, when the conquerors had been long settled in our island, the principal of whom was a monk of Jarrow, the Venerable Bede.

From them we learn that, by the close of the fifth century, fifty years after the last Roman left Britain, the whole coast—from the Wash to Southampton Water—was in the hands of the continental strangers, but that they had made but little advance into the interior of the island, where the Romanized Britons were still living the civilized life under their native kings, who governed their people upon the Roman model, but, as some writers say, oppressed them at the same time.

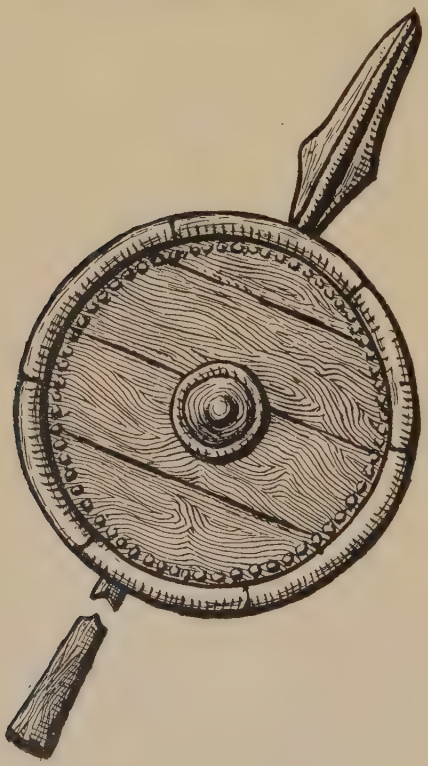
Early in the sixth century, however, the Engles began to arrive in the North, by way, as you might expect, of the rivers. Especially the wide estuary of the Humber


IV
NORTHUMBRIA
Boundary of Northumbria
Durham and its outlying portions
Firth of Forth
EDINBURGH
BERNICIA
Holy Id
Lindisfarne
Norham
St Cuthbert's Chapel
Tweed
Melrose
Farne Is
Bamborough
Coquet Id
Warkworth
Coquet
North Tyne
Wansbeck
Bedlingtonshire
Blyth
Tynemouth
ROMAN WALL
Corchester
Hexham
Tyne
Monk Wearmouth
Ebchester
Carlisle
Chester le Street
Lanchester
Durham
Derwent
Eden
Wear
Binchester
Tees
DEIRA
NORTH SEA
Catterick Bridge
Swale
Ure
Lune
Crayke
Overborough
Ripon
Aldborough
Old Malton
Lancaster
YORK
Nidd
Wharfe
Ribble
Aire
Ouse
IRISH SEA
Calder
Hatfield
Humber
Manchester
Don
Mersey
CHESTER
Dee
Trent
B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1909.
Scale
Engl. Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50

tempted them, and through that open gate they made their way up-stream to the parting of the waters, and so, by way of the Yorkshire rivers, penetrated the interior of the old Roman Province of Maxima Caesariensis, which in time was to become part of the Engle kingdom of Northumbria. Other bands sailed higher up the coast, and entered the Firth of Forth, and by that river and its tributaries they reached the heart of the Scotch Lowlands. Every water-way running into the North Sea was, to the Engle Sea-Rovers, an instrument of conquest. Up the Tyne, Wear, and Tees, as far as they were then navigable, into our own county, they pushed their way, and little by little, step by step, established themselves in new homes.

By way of the Tyne the Engle bands attacked the fortifications of Hadrian's great Wall. One after another the Roman forts on the promontory where the ruins of Tynemouth Priory stand, and the camps at North and South Shields, fell beneath their wild onslaught. Two miles above Jarrow, where the Tyne turns sharp to the south, the strong station of Segedunum, the first defence of the Wall, confronted the oncoming host of warriors on their way up the river. But the disciplined Roman legions were no longer behind those frowning walls, and Segedunum could make but a feeble defence. We may suppose that the yet stronger works at Pons Aelii (Newcastle) and Caput Caprae—the Goat's Head—on the opposite shore, made for a time a more effective defence, and here the bridge built by Hadrian would, if manned, have opposed a check to the upstream progress of the invaders. The mouth of the Derwent, a mile south of the wall-station of Condercum, must have tempted the Engles, and induced them to turn off the main stream of Tyne to follow its tributary. This would have led them to Vindomora (Ebchester), which they destroyed so

effectually that we can only with difficulty trace its foundations by the inequalities in the turf. By the Roman way to the south-east they must have descended upon Vinovium (Binchester), and levelled it with the



Engle Spear and Shield

ground. The Watling Street, too, led them to Lanchester, which, in the vitrified state of its pavements and the appearance of the metallic substances which are found among the ruins to-day, bears unmistakable evidence of its terrible end.

The Roman settlement at Chester-le-Street was probably attacked and destroyed by some adventurous Engles journeying up the Wear, or it may have been reached by a short march to the south from Gateshead.

Whether the Romans had erected defensive works at the mouths of the rivers Wear and Tees is not clear, but if there were any, their very memory has been lost, and it is not probable that the Engles experienced much opposition in their passage up country by way of those rivers. Indeed, it is possible that their first incursions into Durham may have been made along the courses of Wear and Tees.

The onward march of these Engle war-bands was as the oncoming of the locust swarm. Before them were goodly Roman cities such as Eboracum, beautiful and orderly in the classic formality of its temples, forum, and villas, and teeming with culture and refinement, towns like Cilurnum and Corstopitum, with their smaller forums and public buildings, but all built according to rule and on the model of Rome herself, and the military stations designed for scientific warfare as it was then understood—all the beauty and orderliness which grew up wherever the Roman peace was proclaimed—they passed over all these, cutting their way with long sword and battle-axe, and behind them was a scene of desolation. All had gone down before the axe and firebrand, so that when to-day we would know somewhat of Roman life in Britain, we are forced to dig painfully from out the green-clad soil with which nature has, in pity for so much fallen greatness, covered the overthrown monuments of Roman rule, the broken

ENGLE HELMET

remains of porch and column and pavement which, unknown and uncared for, have rested for generations beneath the surface of British land. Some of these Engles who had entered North Britain by Humber mouth and the Ouse set up on the wolds, in the eastern part of the Province, a kingdom known as that of the Deiri, while further north the kingdom of Bernicia was founded, as we are told by the Venerable Bede, by an Engle chieftain named Ida, who fixed his capital on the headland called, in after years, Bamborough.

We have no clear account of how these things happened; all we certainly know is that Roman law and Roman literature and art, all that is meant by the word culture, were swept from Britain by the middle of the sixth century, and that with them the religion of Christ, which had been brought to Britain by Roman Christians, and been protected there by the Roman peace, disappeared from the greater part of our island. True it is that some of the Britons, worsted in battle with the invaders, took refuge in the mountains and high lands in the western parts of Britain, and with them carried their Faith; and that when in later years Pope Gregory sent St. Augustine to replant religion in England, the old Faith, corrupted to some extent by its long isolation, was still lingering in the western half of the country.

In the place of Christianity and of Roman law and custom, the conquerors set up their ancestral Paganism and their own social system. This new society was utterly unlike the old, which had vanished from the greater part of Britain like a tale that had been told.

Before the end of the sixth century the change was nearly complete, for, east of the Pennine Range and south and south-east of an imaginary line drawn from their southern limit through Derbyshire to Severn mouth, Britain had been torn from the Britons. There-

after, instead of the pitiless warfare which, for a hundred years, had been waged between the Britons and the invaders, a gradual process of an ameliorative character set in, and as time went on, and the English extended westward across the island, they mixed more and more with the Britons, until to-day that process has so far progressed that the whole island has become one in spirit, if not entirely so in name.

Questions and Suggestions

1. What causes led to the invasion of Britain by the German coast-tribes?

2. Explain why the northern boundaries of Durham and Cumberland are not the Roman Wall, although it bounded the Roman Province of Maxima Caesariensis on the north.

3. What causes, in addition to the nearness of Eastern Britain to the mainland, operated to prevent German settlements on the western side of Britain?

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CHAPTER IV

How the Engle Kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia were made into one Kingdom of Northumbria. Also of the Bishopric of Lindisfarne planted by St. Oswald the King and of its Bishops, Aidan and Cuthbert

We have followed the invading bands of Engles along the rivers, and have seen how, although they destroyed every vestige of Roman Britain which was capable of destruction, they began the work of reconstruction of society in Britain upon the basis of their old German laws and customs. Of the two Engle kingdoms which had been founded in the north, Deira had, after years of warfare with her sister kingdom, been beaten by the Bernician king Aethelric, who, in 588, united the two kingdoms into one under the name of Northumbria. In these petty wars between rival tribes of Engles, we see examples in miniature of the process which has been going on ever since mankind appeared on the earth—the fighting out of the battle for existence without regard for moral law. That process is still going on, and we see it at work whenever nations, sometimes great nations, go to war for selfish ends. We are all glad that wars are becoming fewer, and that statesmen are trying to find ways of settling disputes without fighting, and we look forward to the time when wars between nations will seem as silly and impossible to think about, as wars between two English counties—say Yorkshire and Durham—would seem to us to-day.

Although Northumbrians had become one people and had ceased fighting among themselves, the northern Britons beyond the Roman Wall still gave them trouble,

St. Cuthbert's Vision

and it was not until the Northumbrian king Aethelfrith had crushed the British power in a great battle fought at Daegsastan (probably Dalston, near Carlisle) that the Engles had peace on their northern border, and their sway extended to the Wall of Antonine. They still, however, had enemies at their very doors in the British kingdoms of Strathclyde and Cumbria, which stretched from the Clyde to the Dee, but as the power of the northern allies of these western Britons had been broken at Daegsastan, so they were cut off from their British kinsmen of Wales when Aethelfrith, in 613, seized the city of Chester. Thereafter the Britons of Strathclyde and Cumbria caused less trouble to the Northumbrians, although it was many years before fighting between Briton and Engle came to an end.

Of Northumbria's later story we need say little. Of Edwin, the great king, who reigned supreme from Edwinsburgh on the Forth to Humber river, and was acknowledged as overlord southward to the Isle of Wight, whose peace was so sacred that it was said, "A woman with her babe might walk scatheless from sea to sea in Edwin's day". Of Edwin's Kentish bride, who brought with her to the north the messenger of the Faith, Paulinus, who had been sent from Rome by Pope Gregory the Great in 601, who became bishop first of York and afterwards of Rochester, and who is still commemorated by the Roman Church on October 10. Of the brief black night of heathenism which descended on Northumbria, as on all England, when Penda of Mercia, joining forces with Cadwallon, British king in Wales in 633, fought against Edwin on the battle-ground of Hatfield and slew him. Of the revival of Northumbria's power and of the Christian Faith together, under the kingship of the saintly Oswald, and how he, too, was slain at Maserfield by the stern old heathen Penda.

And of that last great battle at Winwood, when Oswiu of Northumbria, by the grace of God, gave the death-blow to heathenism in England, so that never again was the faith of Woden and Thor to be held by men of English blood.

When Edwin fell at Hatfield, the great bulwark of the Faith of Christ in the north fell too, and in the horror and confusion of the struggle which ensued, Christianity, so recently replanted in Northumbria by Paulinus, suffered a check. Oswald's first thought, when seated securely on the throne of Northumbria, was how to restore Christianity. He called to mind that, when young, he had been kindly entertained by the monks of Iona, an island on the west coast of Scotland colonized originally by St. Columba and other monks from Ireland, which country had been converted to Christianity by St. Patrick, sent from Rome by Pope Celestine in 431, and it was to Iona that Oswald turned for help in the task of bringing back the Faith to his kingdom.

In answer to Oswald's call, Iona sent Aidan the bishop, and to him was given as an episcopal seat the lone island of Lindisfarne, since called Holy Island, off the coast of Northumberland. Here a monastery and a training-school for clergy were soon formed, and hence missionaries went forth to restore the Faith over the length and breadth of Northumbria. Aidan himself undertook the conversion of Bernicia, wandering on foot from village to village teaching and baptizing.

Thus it was that our county, not yet called Durham, but only part of Northumbria, was brought back to the Christian Faith by the labours of Aidan of Lindisfarne and his companions, monks of the Order of St. Columba; and from Lindisfarne was shortly to come a greater even than Aidan, the saintly Cuthbert.

On the night of August 31, 651, a shepherd lad was

tending his master's sheep in Lauderdale, and while, as was his custom during the long night watches, he occupied himself in prayer, he saw, as it seemed to him, the soul of the blessed Aidan borne to Heaven by angels. The shepherd boy was Cuthbert, and he was to become the great saint by whom the destinies of north country folk were to be moulded for ages then to come. In the morning Cuthbert learnt that Aidan the bishop had died during the night at the king's house at Bamborough, and, believing that the vision was a call to himself to embrace a monastic life, he went to the abbey of Melrose, and was there received as a novice. After many years of discipline and study at Melrose, Cuthbert was sent to Lindisfarne monastery, of which in course of time he became Prior. As he got older, Cuthbert felt that even greater solitude than he could attain to in the monastery would be good for him and according to God's will, so he obtained leave from his superior to retire to the small island of Farne. Here he lived for eight years, when it came about that the bishops of England, in a synod or meeting held at Twyford under the presidency of Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury, resolved that the hermit Cuthbert should be made Bishop of Hexham.

Cuthbert loved solitude, and also humility and simplicity of life, both which come to men who live much alone with high thoughts, and he did not care to be made a bishop and to be compelled to pass much of his time amidst the distractions of the busy world. So he was strong to refuse the Bishopric of Hexham, and only yielded when he was carried by force to York, and there consecrated bishop by Archbishop Theodore. Still, he greatly desired to remain at Lindisfarne, and so it was arranged, with the consent of the Archbishop, that he should exchange bishoprics with his old master Eata, who was Abbot of Melrose when Cuthbert went there as

a boy, and was then Bishop of Lindisfarne. Thus Eata became Bishop of Hexham, and Cuthbert until his death in 687 had his bishop's seat at Lindisfarne.

We are approaching the time when Durham, as a separate district of Northumbria, first begins to take shape. Hitherto the land between Tyne and Tees had been part of Northumbria, and without any distinct character; but it was gradually to grow into the "Patrimony of St. Cuthbert", a title which our county has held through the centuries, and holds still, as a precious inheritance, and one of which her sons are justly proud.

QUESTIONS

1. Remembering that men are forbidden by God's law to kill each other, explain what circumstances will justify one nation in going to war with another. Was King Penda of Mercia right in fighting against the kings of Northumbria? Give reasons for your answer.

2. Why did the Christian clergy, when engaged in converting heathen races, so often fix their own abodes on islands near the mainland, e.g. Lindisfarne and Iona?

CHAPTER V

How the Land between Tyne and Wear was given to St. Cuthbert; how St. Cuthbert Died; and how his Monks Fled from the Danes, and after many Wanderings brought his Body to Chester-le-Street

Although St. Cuthbert lived a solitary life in his island home, he did not forget to perform the duties of his high office. Priests were constantly going and coming between Lindisfarne and the mainland, carrying religion into the remotest corners of the Northumbrian kingdom. Gradually the influence of St. Cuthbert and his monks

Ruins of Lindisfarne Priory

extended southwards from Northumberland, and, in the lifetime of the saint, the bounds of his bishopric were extended to include the land between the Tyne and the Wear. This was done by King Egfrid, who understood the benefits which his people would reap, not only in religious matters but in their worldly affairs too, if the hands of Holy Church were strengthened in the fight which she was then, as always, carrying on against barbarism.

Not only did Egfrid give to the Church this land in Durham, but also lands in the City of York, and a town twelve miles from York called Crayke, with the land for three miles round, which remained part of Durham County until 1844, when they were made part of Yorkshire. At Crayke, in the fifteenth century, Bishop Nevill of Durham built a strong castle, the greater part of which is still standing and is used as a farm-house.

Egfrid's successor, Ceolwulf, was equally liberal to the Church, and among other lands he gave Warkworth to the Bishopric of Lindisfarne.

At last Bishop Cuthbert was to die, and, that he might be prepared for that great change, he retired from Lindisfarne to his hermit cell on Farne. Here he died, surrounded by his monks, to whom he gave a strict charge that if, in after times, the island should be invaded and they should be forced to flee, they should bear away his bones with them.

This direction was the far-away cause of the great privileges and high position of the Bishopric of Durham in after ages, because wherever the body of St. Cuthbert rested was held to be sacred ground, and to be rightly devoted to holy uses only.

In the time of St. Cuthbert's successor, Egred, the land between Wear and Tees was added to the "Patrimony of St. Cuthbert", and in his day, too, Norham on the Scotch

border, with much land round about it, all which was called Norhamshire, was given to the See. Bishop Egred also built a church at Norham, and removed thither from Lindisfarne the body of Ceolwulf, who had resigned his kingdom to become a monk in the island monastery.

We must now say a word about the Danes, a set of people who began in Bishop Egred's day to trouble the Engles of Northumbria in the same way as the Engles had troubled the Romanized Britons.

We have learnt of the going forth in all directions of the successive waves of Aryan migration from their birth-land in northern Europe; and how the Italian Aryans, become the civilized Romans, had imposed the Roman law and the Roman peace upon the greater part of Europe, mainland and islands alike; and how the dwellers on the mainland by the North Sea—Engles, Jutes, and Saxons—who, from their remoteness had escaped the influence of Rome, and so had remained barbarians and ignorant of Roman culture, had descended upon Britain and destroyed all the fair monuments of the many years of Roman rule; and now we have to hear of other Aryan folk, who, because they were settled yet further north than the Saxons and Engles from Roman Europe, had remained uninfluenced by Roman law—the Scandinavian peoples who lived in the peninsulas which jut out from the north of Europe towards the Polar Sea, and which we now call Norway and Sweden and Denmark. These people, Danes and Norwegians, Goths, Swedes, Vandals, and Frisians, began about the eighth century to make their presence known to Englanders by sudden descents upon their shores. The north-east coast first experienced these ravages, for it is in a direct line of sail to the west from the seats of those piratical northerners.

At first the Danes confined themselves to isolated

violent attacks upon exposed parts of the coast, carrying fire and sword for a short distance inland, seizing as much booty as they could carry, and off again to their ships. This kind of warfare is very difficult for a settled nation to cope with, and an old English Chronicler, Roger of Wendover, writing in the thirteenth century an account of what he had been able to get together of the early history of his country, gives us a vivid word-picture of the confusion which resulted from these onslaughts of the Danish pirates. After saying that, from the beginning of the reign of Athelwulf, son of Egbert, King of the West Saxons and father of the great King Alfred, until the arrival of the Normans, nearly 230 years, the Danes had repeatedly invaded England, and wasted and destroyed wherever they went, he goes on: "And if they were sometimes defeated, it availed the English nothing, for a greater fleet with more numerous forces would arrive unexpectedly and suddenly in another part; so that, whilst the kings of the English would be hastening toward the eastern coast of the kingdom to fight against them, a messenger would arrive and thus address them, 'Whither, O kings, are you marching? for an innumerable host of pagans has landed in the southern parts, and is ravaging the cities and towns, and destroying with fire and sword whatever is in their way.' News of this kind, whether from the east, the west, or the north, deprived the natives of all hope of safety; and thus, with hearts bowed down by so many misfortunes and evil tidings, would the kings enter on a doubtful contest with their hostile invaders, in which sometimes the natives, and sometimes the enemies, were defeated".

These ravages culminated in the year 870 in the arrival of a large army of "the pagans", as old writers called the Danes, upon the coast of Scotland, who, after murdering all the nuns of Collingham and burning their

convent, put to sea again, and sailed down the coast, burning and destroying all that lay in their way. The monastery of Lindisfarne was not spared, though the monks, taught by experience of these onslaughts, notably in 793, in the days of Abbot Higbald (when the monastery had been burnt and all the monks murdered), managed to get wind of the coming of the Danes, and escaped to the mainland. With them they took the body of St. Cuthbert, in the coffin in which he had been placed in 698, and in his arms they placed for safety the head of St. Oswald the King and Martyr, a precious relic.

Besides Lindisfarne the heathen at this time destroyed the nunnery at Tynemouth, the Benedictine monastery at Jarrow, founded in 674 by Benedict Biscop in honour of St. Peter, and the other house of the same Order at Wearmouth, also set up by Benedict in 680, under the invocation of the Apostle St. Paul.

This Abbot Benedict is noteworthy for having been a great lover of books and of art, evidenced by the pains and expense he was at in journeying five times to Rome for the purpose of collecting stores of precious volumes and church ornaments, which he bestowed upon the churches he had founded. Jarrow, too, claims our attention, redolent as it is of the memory of Bede, called the Venerable, who in his lifetime had so world-wide a fame as a writer and teacher that the Pope Sergius the First invited him to Rome that he might receive the honours which his labours deserved. To Bede also we are indebted for the only reliable and fairly complete contemporary account of Early Engle-Saxon days in Britain which has come down to us. In the chancel of St. Paul's Church, Jarrow, you may see an ancient chair which tradition tells us was used by the Venerable Bede.

From the coast of Durham these Danes sailed past Yorkshire, and through Humber mouth, up the rivers to

Chair of Venerable Bede (St. Paul's, Jarrow)

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the south. Not only peaceful houses of monks and nuns like Croyland, Thorney, Ramsey, Peterborough, and Ely went down in flames at this fateful time, but cities and towns were burnt to the ground, and their inhabitants, young and old, were put to the sword. This kind of band it was that slew the glorious King Edmund of East Anglia, tying him to a tree, and shooting arrows into him until he was dead—that same Edmund who is known to us as St. Edmund the King and Martyr, in whose honour not only the great monastery of Bury St. Edmund's was erected, but a great number of churches throughout England.

To return to the fathers of Lindisfarne, whom we left in the mainland after their flight from their island home. Though doubtful whither to turn their steps, they felt that towards the west offered the best chance of safety from the Danes, and so in sad procession, with Eardulph the bishop and the Abbot Edred at their head, they journeyed on to the shore of the Western Sea. Symeon, monk of Durham and historian, here can help us, and we learn from him that when the monks reached the coast they went on board ship with their precious burden, intending to cross the narrow sea to Ireland. Even as they embarked they had doubts about the wisdom of their action, and a great multitude of people came down to the water's edge, crying and wringing their hands, bewailing the sad necessity which drove St. Cuthbert, so greatly venerated among them, from their shores. These doubts were increased when, shortly after they had weighed anchor and were on their way across the strait, a mighty tempest arose, and the shipmen were hard put to it to keep the vessel afloat. Manfully they battled with the winds and waves, and strove to keep the ship's head for Ireland; but it seemed to be God's will that St. Cuthbert should not leave Northumbria, and all their

striving was in vain. Worn out at last, the shipmen turned their vessel back on her course, and the monks soon found themselves again on shore in as great perplexity as before. Wearied with their wanderings, some of them lost heart, and went away from the little company, whither we know not, leaving only seven monks, besides the bishop and abbot, with the body of the blessed Cuthbert and the other holy relics. This defection strengthened the resolve of those who were left to trust wholly in Divine guidance, and they had immediately a piece of good hap in finding on the sea-shore, unhurt, a most precious book of the Gospels, which had fallen from the ship's side during the storm, and, as they supposed, had been lost. This book has a history, for it was written in memory of St. Cuthbert, by his fellow monk and successor in the Bishopric of Lindisfarne, Egfrith. After Egfrith's death his successor, Ethelwold, caused this beautiful book to be enriched by a certain hermit artist, one Bilfrid, with illuminated miniatures and capital letters, and to be most sumptuously bound in gold, studded with jewels. You may see this beautiful relic of ancient art (stripped, however, by some barbarous person in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, of its precious binding) at the British Museum in London, where it forms part of the Cottonian Collection, and is known as the Durham Book, or St. Cuthbert's Gospels. The illustration shows us one of the miniatures painted by Bilfrid, which represents the Evangelist St. Mark. We have no certain record of the course taken by St. Cuthbert's monks after this abortive attempt to reach Ireland, but it is likely that they first made their way to Melrose, that house of God so full of sweet memories of their saint's boyhood.

From Melrose the monks, after a time, started again on their travels with their precious charge, perhaps with

Miniature (St. Mark) from St. Cuthbert's Gospels

the idea of making their way back to Lindisfarne. This time they bestowed themselves and their burden in a boat, and rowed for some twenty miles down the Tweed, coming at last to where the sluggish Till flows into the swiftly running Tweed, Tillmouth. Here they rested, and, after devotions at the spot where now stand the ruins of St. Cuthbert's Chapel, they turned away to the south, journeying on until they struck the old Roman way leading to that part of the Wall of Hadrian which is due north of Corbridge. Still southward they passed, through the wall, by Corbridge, over the Tyne and Derwent, to Ebchester, and so, by Lanchester, to their destination. By this road, no doubt, these good monks, so faithful to their dying bishop's request, that if they left Lindisfarne they should take his body with them, after seven years' weary wandering, at last reached the place called by the English, Conceceastre, the Roman *castrum* by the Cone rivulet, or, as we call it, Chester-le-Street, the *castrum* on the street leading to South Shields.

Here, then, they rested, and here St. Cuthbert's body was to remain for over a hundred years.

Questions

1. Why has the main tide of migration of European peoples always moved westward?

2. Explain why the influence of the Christian Church tended to promote civilization and worldly prosperity among the Early Northumbrians.

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CHAPTER VI

How in King Alfred's Days a Bishop's Stool was set at Chester-le-Street, and all the Land between Tyne and Tees was made part of the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert

During the last stage of their weary journey the monks from Lindisfarne halted at the ruined Roman station at Lanchester. If we are to credit Symeon of Durham, as I think we may, they certainly stayed a night there, perhaps much longer; for he tells us that, in the year 882, the Abbot Edred, who accompanied, you remember, the monks from Lindisfarne, while at Lanchester was, in a vision of the night, bidden by St. Cuthbert to seek out and redeem from slavery a youth named Guthred, son of Hardicanute, who had been sold by the Danes as a slave to a certain widow of Whittingham. When the youth had been found, continued the saint in his instruction to Edred, all the English and Danes of Northumbria should join in making him their king. If we look at the history of England in those days we shall better understand these events. In 876 the Northumbrian King Ricsy had been defeated by the Danish Prince Halden (the slayer of St. Edmund), who had seized upon Northumbria, and for two years governed it as king. No doubt there were by that time many Danes settled in the North who were beginning to mix with the English, so that men's minds were not unprepared for some sort of gradual quieting down of animosity on both sides. In 877, however, Halden was seized with the war-spirit, and, marching south, joined forces with his old friend the Danish leader Hinguar,

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with whom he had originally come from Denmark. These two, after laying waste Wales, and committing all kinds of enormities there, went into winter quarters in the south of that country, and, in the spring of 878, crossed the Bristol Channel in twenty-three vessels into Devon. Here they started to burn and slay, but they were met by the great King Alfred at Kinwith Castle, and there they were, with another Danish chief, Hubba, and 1,200 men, defeated and slain.

Thus in 878 Northumbria was left without a ruler, and, as the Danes had again got the upper hand in the south of England, King Alfred being in hiding in the Isle of Athelney (where he burned the peasant woman's cakes, as the chroniclers tell us), nothing could be done to set things right in the north until some authority got restored in England. This, fortunately, happened very soon. While King Alfred lay sleeping one night at Athelney, it seemed to him in his dreams that he saw the blessed Cuthbert, who assured him that he had obtained of God by his prayers that if the king would repent of his cruel acts (for even the great Alfred, like all men, had sins to be sorry for) God would look upon him in mercy, and restore his sceptre and former prosperity. With fresh heart and renewed courage Alfred arose in the morning, and all things seemed to happen as he would wish. The nobles and men of Somerset and Wilts came to him, and with them he marched against the Danish King Gythro, and defeated him, after a fierce and obstinate battle, at Ethandune (Eddington) in Wiltshire.

You have read elsewhere how Gythro embraced the Christian faith, and was in the year 880 allowed, by Alfred's wisdom, to settle quietly in East Anglia. Thus was Alfred free to settle the affairs of his kingdom, and the time for putting things right in Northumbria had nearly come.

Abbot Edred, then, after his vision at Lanchester in 882, and when King Alfred, after two years' work, was getting the affairs of the country into order, sought out the lad Guthred, and redeemed him from slavery. Thereupon Guthred was, by the Engles and Danes of Northumbria, elected as their King, and he was crowned in the following year.

These days of Guthred and Alfred the Great were very important times for our county, because, although Durham was not even then a county as we understand the phrase, yet it had nearly reached the stage at which it was to become one. To understand this, we ought to go back to Abbot Edred's vision. St. Cuthbert had gone on to say, after giving the instructions about Guthred and the kingdom, that Edred was to tell Guthred that when he became king he was to give to St. Cuthbert all the land between Tyne and Tees, and, further, the saint directed that "whosoever should flee to me" (meaning the place where the saint's body should be), "either on account of having killed a man or by reason of any necessity, should have peace for thirty-seven days and nights". What does all this mean? Simply this, that the time had come when the land lying between Tyne and Tees, soon to be called the County of Durham, should, under the fostering care of the Christian Church, begin to be a civilized region, where men might live in peace, and do their daily work by a just rule of life. Also, because men's passions are apt to run away with their good judgement, and to impel them to do wild and cruel deeds of vengeance, it was thought good, in the interests of peace, that if one who had killed a man, perhaps in a sudden brawl, or even by accident, could reach the place where St. Cuthbert's body lay, he should remain there for a time safe from the avenging arm, so that the anger of those whom he had injured might have time to cool, and some arrangement

of the trouble might be made. This was the reason of what is known as the privilege of Sanctuary, which in the Middle Ages was annexed to most of the important churches and monasteries, and even to kings' palaces. Most of you know the grinning head-shaped knocker upon the north door of Durham Cathedral. This was for use by

Sanctuary Knocker, Durham Cathedral

people demanding sanctuary at such times as the great church was closed, though they would, according to law, have been safe from attack as soon as they got within the monastery precincts.

Sanctuary rights are no longer necessary, because the law is now in civilized countries held in such respect that there is little fear of a man who has committed

a crime being killed or injured before he can be arrested and conveyed safely to prison.

Guthred, being thus securely seated on the Northumbrian throne, as well in his own name as in that of King Alfred, granted all the land between Tyne and Tees to St. Cuthbert for ever, and with all his court made oath upon the body of St. Cuthbert to keep peace and fidelity, and to respect the king's grant as long as they lived, "and well", adds Symeon, "they kept that oath".

The result was that Dane and Engle settled down in Northumbria as good friends and neighbours, though at times for many years to come the peace of the north was disturbed by incursions of Danes from the outside.

While Bishop Eardulph and the monks were wandering about with St. Cuthbert's body all those years, the affairs of the Bishopric of Lindisfarne must have fallen into a sad state of confusion, but when peace was brought to the land in Guthred's days, the bishop began to consider how to put things straight. It is probable that Lindisfarne was thought to be too much exposed to attack from sea-rovers to be a very desirable place for a bishopric, and no place seemed more fitting or secure than Chester-le-Street. It was, therefore, decided that St. Cuthbert's body should remain there, and that Chester-le-Street should be the bishop's seat for all Durham and Northumberland, the Bishopric of Hexham having ceased to exist, owing to the desolation caused by the Danish hordes. At Chester-le-Street Bishop Eardulph built a church to serve as a cathedral, but all we know of it is that it was built of wood, the more usual material for buildings of all kinds in those days. No doubt this church was put together in a similar way to the wooden church at Greenstead, near Ongar in Essex, which is the only church built of wood in Saxon days still in use in

England. At Greenstead the walls are made of trunks of oak trees split down the centre and cut to equal lengths. These are placed upright, side by side, along the foundations of the church, so forming the walls, and the tops of the trunks are fastened by wooden pins into a wooden cornice, which supports the roof beams. It is likely that the inside of the wooden cathedral at Chester-le-Street was richly adorned, for it was customary in those days to decorate the interiors of churches with plates of bronze and brass, fastened upon the capitals of the pillars and the carved parts of the altar and other fittings.

Durham, as we may now call the land between Tyne and Tees, was then very sparsely inhabited, as there were few towns which had escaped destruction in the Danish invasions. In the eastern parts wheat, oats, and other cereals were grown, while the greater part of the western side of the county was forest and moorland. Coal was worked only here and there by surface mining, as it had been since Roman days.

Questions and Suggestions

1. Give an outline of the events which brought about the formation of the County of Durham.
2. Why did King Alfred, a Saxon, support the making of a Dane as king in Northumbria?
3. Why are rights of Sanctuary no longer needed?
4. Read Scott's *Marmion*, and the "Hermit of Warkworth" in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.

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CHAPTER VII

How the Danes came again; and how St. Cuthbert's body was carried to Ripon, and thence brought to Durham

By Guthred's accession to the throne of Northumbria, that kingdom had become more Danish than English, and it is likely that the majority of the people were Danes by descent, and that in many respects the laws and customs of the Northumbrians at that time were of Danish origin. King Alfred of Wessex, although his overlordship was acknowledged by Guthred, was never king over Northumbria and East Anglia in the same way as he was over the rest of England, and gradually Northumbria came to be looked upon as a Danish country.

For something like one hundred years, protected no doubt by its Danish character, Northumbria remained fairly free from pagan invasion; but towards the end of the tenth century, when the Danish freebooters, encouraged by the vacillation shown by Ethelred the Unready, were unusually active all round the English coast, bands of pirates from beyond the eastern sea began to arrive and to commit the usual depredations.

It was one of these invasions of the Sea Rovers which, some time about the year 993 in Bishop Aldune's days, decided the monks of Chester-le-Street to start again on their travels with the body of their revered saint. They fled south to Ripon, where there was a Benedictine monastery, founded three hundred years earlier by the great Bishop Wilfrid.

Here the monks stayed for three years, and then got them on the road again with St. Cuthbert's body to

return north. After leaving Ripon, they are next heard of on the height of Wardon-law in the eastern part of Durham, about six miles east of Chester-le-Street. Here a difficulty had arisen, for the wagon which bore the body of St. Cuthbert had stuck fast without apparent cause, and no effort on the part of its custodians could move it a foot.

Whether the monks had intended to return to Chester-le-Street or to bear back St. Cuthbert to his original resting-place at Lindisfarne is uncertain. If their intended destination was Chester-le-Street, it is difficult to understand why they were journeying so far to the east as Wardon-law, while they might reasonably have been there if Lindisfarne was to be the end of their journey.

In this difficulty there was only one thing, they thought, to be done: to stop where they were and to betake themselves to prayer and fasting. This they did, and after three days Eadmer the monk declared that a revelation had come to him, namely, that the body of St. Cuthbert was destined to rest in Dunholme. Of this place they had never heard, so Eadmer's revelation seemed to be of very little use. After a short time, however, this problem was solved, for, as they stood debating as to the whereabouts of Dunholme, close at hand a woman, whose cow had strayed, called to a passing milkmaid, asking if she had seen the lost cow. "Yes", came the answer, "she is in Dunholme." Overjoyed, the monks prepared to follow the woman, and found to their surprise that there was no longer any difficulty in moving the wagon. They followed the woman westward, and came to the lofty hill, then wholly tree-clad, which uprises from the peninsula round which the Wear sweeps full and broad on her way from the western dales to the eastern sea, and which to-day we call Durham City. Here then, on the summit of Dunholme, St. Cuthbert's monks forthwith set

Durham before the Coming of the Monks

up a little church of wicker-work, to serve as a shrine for their saint until such time as a cathedral could be built.

It was not long ere this was done, for by the year 998 Aldune the bishop had erected a fair church, wide and spacious for those days, in the manner of the Normans, as the phrase then began to run; that is, of stone, as distinguished from the Saxon manner of building of wood. From the colour of its material this church was called the White Church, as indeed most stone churches were then called. From this circumstance comes the frequency in England of the place-name Whitchurch.

We know little of this first permanent cathedral church of Durham, beyond that it was built in the form of a cross, with a tower over the crossing, and another tower at the west end. Also, we are told that the choir was not, as in the present cathedral and in most other churches, at the east end but at the west. In the choir St. Cuthbert's body was placed, no doubt behind the high altar.

On this river-bound hill of Dunholme the body of St. Cuthbert was to rest for many centuries then to come, and we shall see, as the telling of our tale goes on, the white church of Bishop Aldune replaced by another white church, sumptuous and magnificent, the mighty bulk of which still crowns the wooded banks of Wear.

QUESTION

What were the advantages, as to situation and otherwise, which marked out Dunholme as the seat of government for the surrounding country?

CHAPTER VIII

How Durham became a County Palatine, and what that Means. Also of the Dividing of the County into Wapentakes or Wards

Though King Egfrid had given the land between Tyne and Wear to St. Cuthbert, and the Kings Guthred and Alfred had made the bishop and his successors governors over all the country now called Durham, yet the bishops were really the king's representatives and ruled Durham folk in his name. In time, however, the bishops became princes, and thereafter it was to them that the men of the bishopric owed allegiance, and only through them to the king. The bishop had become a Prince Palatine, and the land over which he ruled had got to be called the County Palatine of Durham.

How this came about we shall try to find out; but, first, we must know what a County Palatine is, and what purposes it is meant to serve. The word palatine was, originally, merely descriptive of any person or thing belonging to or connected with a palatium or royal house, "a palace", as we say, and it came in time to mean much the same as the word royal; so that when a king for any reason handed over his royal rights with regard to a part of his kingdom to some great man, that man was called a Prince Palatine, that is, a prince who exercised all the powers of a king over that particular place. The reason why kings in old days sometimes appointed Princes Palatine was, in some cases, because they found it difficult to rule distant parts of their kingdom, and in others, because a strong man was needed to

DURHAM FROM ELVET BRIDGE

keep in order turbulent neighbours of outlying parts of their country.

We have seen that from the earliest times the people of Northumbria were exposed to constant attacks from their neighbours on the north, the Picts and Scots; and, when the Saxon kingdoms were united into one kingdom of England, this danger still existed, for it was found that the Earl who governed Northumbria as the king's representative was not able alone to keep the northern raiders at bay.

Old writers tell us that the great King Canute, who ruled all England from 1017 to 1035, was the first of our kings to realize what a powerful helper in this work of preserving the peace in the north the Bishop of Durham might be; and that for this reason, and also out of his great regard for Holy Church (for Canute was a very pious prince, and went on pilgrimage to Rome, to visit the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul), he invested Bishop Edmund of Durham and his successors with all the rights of royalty over that part of Northumbria which lies between Tyne and Tees. It is also said that King Canute himself inaugurated this great change in government by walking barefoot from Trimdon, along the road then and now called Garmondsway, to Durham City, where he gave many precious gifts to St. Cuthbert's shrine and to the cathedral built by Bishop Aldune.

Whether King Canute did, in truth, invest the bishops with royal rights over Durham, as the story tells us, is however very doubtful, and it seems likely that the Palatinate rights of the bishops grew gradually out of their powers as great holders of land in Northumbria. The Bishops of Durham had for centuries been growing stronger and more important every year, and they had become next in importance to, and perhaps at times

more important than, the Earls of Northumbria themselves.

Whatever, then, may have been the origin of the bishop having the rights of a king over Durham, we know that in the time of William the Conqueror, Bishop Walcher, of whom we shall read in the next chapter, exercised all the rights of royalty, and he is the first

Bishop Tunstall's Palatinate Seal

of the Bishops of Durham whom we can with certainty call a prince bishop.

This, as far as we can tell, was how the County Palatine of Durham came into existence, and we shall see that, from the time of William the Conqueror to the year 1836, Durham men were bishop's men, and the bishop stood to them in the place of king. An ancient chronicler, very shortly and exactly, describes the great power of

the bishop when he says, "whatever rights the king has outside Durham the bishop has within".

If you look at the round seal in our illustration, which is the obverse or face of the Palatinate seal of Bishop Tunstall, you will notice that the bishop is represented as a knight prepared for battle, and that he wears both a mitre and a crown. That is to show his double personality as a spiritual ruler and a secular prince. The bishop had three seals, a large round one, like Bishop Tunstall's, for sealing documents relating to the secular business of the Palatinate; an oval one, for use in spiritual affairs, in which the bishop was shown, vested and with his hand upraised in blessing, as on Bishop Pudsey's seal, of which we have a drawing; and a small one for purely private business.

Bishop Pudsey's Episcopal Seal

During the Middle Ages every important document was sealed, often instead of, and sometimes in addition to, a signature. The wax, when soft, was pressed round a parchment tag fastened to the bottom of the document, and was placed on a metal plate. The seal was then pressed down on to the face of the wax, and when removed left an impression of the device engraved upon it. Here are a few drawings of seal impressions which are affixed to documents in the Registry at Durham, and which give us a good idea of the seals used by gentlemen in ancient times. The first is the seal of Galfrid de

Conyers, and bears the coat-of-arms of the Conyers family, a sleeve, with the addition of a crescent, to distinguish

Seal of
Galfrid de Conyers

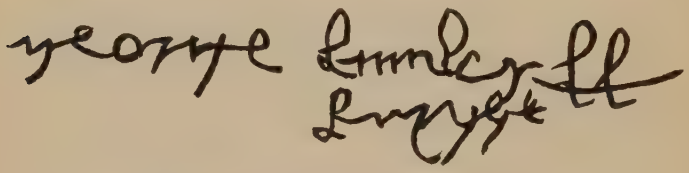
Seal of
Matthew de Lumley

Galfrid's shield from the shields of other members of his family. Next, we have the pretty seal of Matthew de Lumley, representing a knight on horseback with a hawk on his fist. The third seal, that of William Tillyall, is very simple, merely the initial W between two sprigs of bay. Less important writings, especially in later times, were often signed, and we give, as a specimen, the signature, "George Lumley, Knyght, L.S.", copied from a document dated 1483. L.S. stand for the Latin words *locus sigilli*, the place of the seal. So much for the manner of sealing and signing in old times.

Seal of
William Tillyall

The king who first of all conferred Palatine powers

upon the Bishops of Durham, showed himself to be an observant student of events in other lands. He looked outside England to see what was being done on the Continent of Europe, and he found that in Germany the plan had been followed of giving bishops royal powers of government over certain parts of the empire, especially those parts which were near the borders, and were in consequence exposed to attack by enemies.



Signature of Sir George Lumley

Turn to a map of Germany older than 1803, and you will see several small states which were governed by bishops as secular princes on, or near, the frontiers of the empire. On the north-west were the Bishoprics of Münster and Paderborn, while, more to the south, were those of Köln, Trier, Mainz, Basel, and others. To the south was Trient, and other small states of the Church lay to the south-east.

The main reason for conferring temporal power upon bishops of frontier states was, probably, that in old times people were not so ready to attack lands belonging to the Church as lands held by secular kings and princes; and so, you see, all these small temporal bishoprics in Germany and Durham in England helped, by their religious character, to ward off foreign invasion, although they could not wholly prevent it.

There were, no doubt, other reasons for making Counties Palatine than the one we have spoken about, for some Palatine Counties were governed by lay princes.

as the Palatinate of the Rhine in Germany and the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and of Chester in England. Perhaps it was thought that, as most men are ambitious of high position and temporal advantage, though they may differ in the way they use them when attained to, a ruler is likely to take greater pains in governing and guarding a country over which he is the sovereign prince than one of which he is only a subordinate ruler appointed by a king.

The similarity between Durham and the secular bishoprics of Germany will remind you, when studying English history, to look out for likenesses between things which happened in England and those which happened in other countries; and the comparison of the history of one country with that of another will help you to understand the kinship which really exists, though often hidden by differences of language and other circumstances, between the several nations of Europe.

Now that we know what a County Palatine is, we must find out what rights and powers belong to a king, so that we may know what the bishop could do in Durham.

A king, whether he be elected by his people to rule over them, or whether he has become king because his father or some near relation was king before him, has, on the one hand, a duty towards his people, viz. to govern them justly; and, on the other hand, he has certain rights over his people and the land which he rules. You should here recollect that, in the Middle Ages (i. e. the period between the fall of the ancient Roman Empire and the revival of Greek and Latin learning in the early part of the sixteenth century), society was organized upon a system of duties and rights. If a man had a right, there was a duty which corresponded to it. If, for example, he held land, he was bound, in exchange for the advantages

which the possession of the land gave him, to perform certain duties and bear certain expenses, such as to provide men, horses, and weapons to defend the country from invasion, and to make roads and build bridges and keep them in repair.

To return to the king and his rights, they were, in the case of our old English kings, as follows :—

1. He possessed large tracts of land which passed from a king to his successor, and could not in very early times be sold or parted with by the king. These lands were in after ages called Crown lands.

2. He received large quantities of cattle and corn and consumable stores from his subjects. These at first were voluntary gifts, but afterwards became compulsory, and after a time money was substituted for them. It may be that taxes had their origin in this system.

3. When people committed crimes and offences against the law they had to pay fines, part of which went to the king; and when the crimes were very serious, the offender's lands and goods were given to the king. The punishment of death was inflicted only for fighting in the king's house, so far as freemen were concerned. Slaves were entirely at their lord's mercy.

4. The king had the right to keep up a large body-guard for his protection. You know that certain regiments to-day in England are called Household troops.

5. He could call together the Great Council of the Nation, which was made up of the wisest and noblest of the people. This Council we now call by the Norman-French name of Parliament.

6. He could call his people to arms to preserve peace, both between themselves and as against foreign invaders. He could not, by right, require his people to invade other countries. It was the king's right and duty in person to lead his people to battle.

7. He had the sole right to regulate the coinage, and to make and issue money.

8. He appointed all judges and magistrates, who did justice in his name.

9. He alone could confer titles of honour, though in early times an earl could confer knighthood.

10. He could pardon all crimes and offences against the law.

11. He was entitled to all valuable things which had been lost or hidden in the earth, and found again. This was called the right of treasure-trove.

12. His subjects were bound to entertain him when he made journeys through his kingdom, and to supply horses to carry his servants and goods. They were also required to guard him safely when he came to their districts.

13. The king was entitled to all wrecks and great fish cast up by the sea on his coasts.

14. All mines and minerals belonged to him.

15. The king only could grant people the right to hold markets and fairs.

16. He was entitled to receive tolls from people using the harbours, roads, and navigable streams in his kingdom. All harbours and ports belonged to the king.

17. All forests belonged to him, and they were governed by special laws which were administered by the king's justices of the forest and other officers.

18. The king was entitled to all the property of a foreigner who died in his kingdom, while he was bound to protect all strangers.

19. Castles, and probably bridges, could not be built by any one without the king's licence.

20. Main roads, which came to be called the king's highways, could not be constructed without the king's licence. Cross roads and footpaths could be made by private persons.

21. When a king's thane (that is, a nobleman who held his lands directly from the king) died, the king became the guardian of his children, and his widow could not marry again without the king's leave. Also the thane's best horses and weapons went to the king.

To these rights, in later times, were added others, such as the sole right to grant charters of incorporation to cities and towns, and most of them still belong to all kings, although at times we find some of the rights of royalty, particularly those which refer to markets and fairs, and rights to wrecks, being exercised by lords of manors and other private persons, to whom they have been granted by the king.

All these rights of royalty were acquired by the Bishops of Durham when they became Palatine Princes, and were regularly exercised by them for several centuries.

When you go to Durham City, and, having climbed the steep street from the Market Place, find yourself on Palace Green, you should call to mind that it was here that the bishop's judges used to administer justice to Durham folk in the Palatine Courts of Chancery, Exchequer and Pleas, all much the same in constitution and procedure as the King's Courts in London for dispensing justice to the rest of the kingdom.

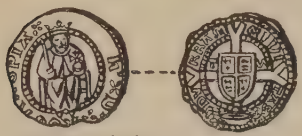
In the museum at Durham Castle you may see the skeleton of a whale which was cast up by the sea on the coast of Durham in 1661, and became the property of the bishop as Prince Palatine, for, as such, he was entitled to all great fish thrown on shore by the sea. Of course the whale is not really a fish, but our ancestors classed him among fishes.

There are many entries upon the rolls or registers of the Palatinate of pardons granted by the bishop to offenders against the law. As one among many such entries we may notice, under date September 6, 1609, that

a free pardon was granted by Bishop James to a baron of the bishopric—Robert Hylton of Hylton Castle on the Wear—who had killed a stable-boy by striking him with a scythe.

Bishop Anthony Beck 1284-1311.

Bishop Thomas Ruthall .1509-1522



Cardinal Wolsey. 1522-1528.

DURHAM PALATINATE COINS

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On Palace Green, too, was the bishop's mint, where the Palatinate money was coined, and issued as legal money. You know that all British money issued in the present day must be coined in the king's mint, and no subject may coin money. In old days in England the kings sometimes granted to bishops and other great men, and in a few instances to cities and towns, the right to have mints and to coin and issue money. The Bishops of Durham, however, coined money, as sovereign princes, in their own right. You may see their coins in museums, and here are a few drawings of some of them. The Palatinate coins differed from the ordinary coins of the

realm on their reverse sides only, where they had inscriptions and special features to indicate in which bishop's reign they were issued. Thus our illustrations show a long cross patée and the words "civitas Dureme" on Bishop Beck's coins, the inscription "civitas Durram" and the initials T.D. (Thomas of Durham) on those of Bishop Ruthall, and the same inscription, with initials T.W., and a cardinal's hat under the shield, on the coins issued by Cardinal Wolsey, when Bishop of Durham.

Perhaps the most important of the bishop's many duties as a secular prince was to guard the frontiers of the kingdom against the Scots, and his own county of Durham from the inroads, not only of the Scots, but of his nearer neighbours, the men of Tynedale. These, in those days, lawless folk, while they were at constant war with the Scots on the other side of the Border, were always ready, if a chance presented itself, to raid the lands of their richer neighbours, the men of Durham. All this kept the bishop's men on the alert, and, on some occasions, the bishop himself, as secular prince of Durham, led his forces to battle. Another thing to remember, too, is that the Durham men fought only in defence of their homes and of their brethren, the rest of English folk. More than once, they refused to go to fight outside the bishopric, because, as they truly said, they held their lands upon condition "of defending the body of St. Cuthbert". As St. Cuthbert's body was buried in the cathedral at Durham, this phrase, of course, implied an obligation to defend the whole bishopric.

We must now speak of the divisions of the county, but before we do so, there is something of a general kind that you ought to understand. When our German forefathers settled in a tract of country, it was their custom to arrange things somewhat after this fashion. Every man was bound to belong to a guild, which was an

association having good government for its object, and the guild and every member of it was responsible for the good conduct of all and each of the members. Each guild originally comprised ten families, who would have a quantity of arable land and meadow between them, which, with the dwelling-houses and other buildings erected thereon, would form what we should call a village, and people in those days called a Tything. The land unfit for cultivation or for grass land, the forests and moors lying round the village, would be used in common by the villagers for cattle pasture, pig-feeding, exercise grounds and so forth, and formed part of the Tything. In each village all public affairs which concerned the village only would be arranged by the heads of the families—ten at first but gradually, of course, more in number—in a meeting which was called the Tything-Mote. Larger public questions, such as might affect more than one village, would be settled by all the heads of families of ten villages, meeting in an assembly known as the Hundred-Mote, that is, the meeting of the heads of ten times ten families. The still greater matters affecting more than one Hundred (a Hundred, you see, was ten Tythings) were dealt with in the Shire-Mote, or, as it came to be called in later times, the County Court.

You will easily see that, though there were usually on the first settlement on the land ten families in a Tything, and ten Tythings in a Hundred, there might be many, or few, Hundreds in a Shire or County.

In Durham County the names of the old Hundreds have been long ago forgotten, because when the Danes rearranged the government of the northern parts of England they did away with the division into Hundreds, and substituted for it a division into Wapentakes or Wards, which had reference not to divisions of the land for purposes of cultivation and village life, as the Hundred

division had, but to the need for mustering the people for defence and military purposes. As the Danish Wapentake or Ward usually comprised three of the Saxon Hundreds, there were probably twelve Hundreds in Durham County before the Danes got the upper hand in the north, because there are four Wards in the County. Their names are Easington, Chester, Stockton, and Darlington Wards, and their boundaries are indicated in Map V by dotted lines.

In old days the military force of the County was registered according to these Wards. The name of every Durham man capable of bearing arms was entered in one or another of these registers, so that the whole or part of the force could be readily called out for service when the need arose. In the present day the division of the County into Wards has become obsolete, and has given place, as we shall hear in Chapter XXIX, to other arrangements for local government which are more in accordance with the needs of people to-day.

Questions

1. What benefit to England resulted from the making of Durham into a County Palatine, and how did it affect the ultimate settlement of the boundary line between England and Scotland?

2. Why did seals come into general use for authenticating documents, and why is their use now mainly confined to instruments of State and other important documents?

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CHAPTER IX

How the Normans came to Durham, and how Bishop Walcher was killed at a Shire-Mote

The practical Northmen from Denmark did not confine themselves to attacks upon England, but wherever booty was to be found within reach of their long keels, there they were sure to come sooner or later.

About the year 912, a band of sea-rovers under the command of one Rollo, a stalwart man, having landed on the south coast of England, and ravaged the country round for some miles, were resting in their camp near the sea. Rollo while he slept had a dream, "he saw", we are told by the chronicler, Roger of Wendover, "a swarm of bees on a sudden flying and buzzing over himself and his army, and, taking a southerly direction, they flew straight across the sea, and arriving at the land, they all settled on the leaves of different trees, and then roaming through the whole country, they began to collect from different places, flowers of various colours which they brought into one place". Pondering over this dream, Rollo thought it to be a sign that his band of rovers would find rest from their wanderings in the parts beyond the sea where the bees had settled.

Wherefore, when the wind was fair for France, Rollo and his band sailed away from England, and making for the mouth of the Seine, they sailed up to Jumièges, where they landed, and began to burn and slay as the manner of the sea-rovers was. So greatly had the northern parts of Gaul suffered from the incursions of the Northmen that Robert, Duke of the French, whose head city was

Paris, and who ruled all the north part of Gaul under Charles, King of the West Franks, agreed with King Charles that the best thing to be done would be to make an arrangement with the terrible Rollo of much the same character as King Alfred had made with Gythro the Danish leader. So they sent the Archbishop of Rouen to confer with Rollo, who no doubt remembering his dream, was well-disposed to make a friendly settlement.

After much parleying, it was agreed that Rollo and his Danes should settle down in that part of Gaul then called Neustria, and since Normandy, and that Rollo should be duke of that land and hold it as the man of King Charles. All was done as agreed, and Rollo and many of his men were baptized.

Rollo and his successors were wise rulers, and also quick to pick up the French speech and French manner of living. All their old Northern roughness, and readiness to gluttony and drinking, they exchanged for courtesy in speech and behaviour and sobriety in living, so that when we hear of them a century and a half later, they had become a polished and cultured people, who had taken to themselves much of the learning and cultivation of the old Roman world which had so completely disappeared from England.

Such were the Normans who, as you know, under their Duke William, seized the sovereignty of England, when Harold, last of the old English kings, with a great heap of his thanes, lay dead under the hoar apple-tree on the hill of Senlac.

For two years after the coming of the Normans very little occurred to change things in the North of England. The Saxon earls having made a nominal submission to King William, the king no doubt hoped that if he were patient, the Northern counties would come gradually

Durham Castle in the Eighteenth Century

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under his rule, and for the time being he was not strong enough to take active military measures against them. In 1068, however, the North burst out into active rebellion, and the northern Earls, going back on their submission to William, joined their people against him.

William marched north, taking all the towns on his way and building castles in them, and at Warwick was met by the English army. Again, however, the Earls' hearts failed them, and they submitted to William, who at that time stayed his march at York and built a castle there. The two northern counties, Northumberland and Durham, still held out, but the king had not forgotten them. He knew that so long as these counties were at feud with him, there was always danger of their joining with the Scots instead of defending England against them, and so he granted the Earldom of Northumberland to one of his Normans, Robert Comines.

Early in 1069, Comines went north to take possession of his Earldom, but although by the aid of Bishop Æthelwine he was allowed to enter Durham peacefully, Durham men were all on fire to rise against him. A little spark sometimes makes a big fire, and it was a small matter, some petty pilfering by Comines's soldiers, which brought things to a head. The citizens rose and attacked Comines and his men, who took refuge in the bishop's palace, which was on the site of the present castle. Here they made a desperate defence, which was ended by the palace being burnt to the ground and by the slaying of the Normans.

These events, combined with outbreaks of the Yorkshiremen aided by Danes, determined King William to go north. He came to York, and here he decided to do a cruel deed—to lay waste the whole of Northern England, to destroy the crops and all store of food and cattle, so that men could not live there. He began with

Yorkshire, and the land became as a desert. Then, after wintering at York, in January, 1070, he moved northward to Durham, whence the monks fearing his vengeance fled to Lindisfarne, bearing with them, as always in their travels, the body of St. Cuthbert. Bishop Æthelwine too, fled, intending to take refuge at Köln in Germany, but he was taken and sent under guard, first to the Abbey of Abingdon in Berkshire, and afterwards to Westminster, where he died in the year 1072. Before his death, however, although in so desperate a strait, he had the courage to excommunicate all robbers of Church property, the king among them. When King William was at Durham, the northern Earl, Gospatric, having submitted to the king, was pardoned and dismissed in peace that he might go and govern his Earldom. When St. Cuthbert's monks at Lindisfarne heard that things were again quiet at Durham, they returned there with the saint's body, arriving on April 8, 1070.

King William then went south, but in two years came again to Durham. Why he came we shall see.

Malcolm, king of Scotland, whose wife Margaret was a sister to the Atheling Edgar, deemed by many to be the rightful heir to the English throne, naturally sympathized with Edgar. Malcolm's friendship took the two-fold form of harbouring William's English enemies, and of harrying, after King William had gone south, the English border counties, Durham among them, with fire and sword.

For some time William's hands were too full of his affairs in Normandy to give him time to deal with the Scotch king. In August, 1072, however, he invaded Scotland with a great force, naval and military. But Malcolm would not fight, and came to Abernethy, where King William was, and did homage to him for the lands which he held under the Crown of England.

William was now at liberty to set in order the affairs of the north, and he did so in this way.

On his way back from Scotland, he stopped some time at Durham city, and, as was his custom, where the Church was concerned (for he was a good son of Holy Church and zealous for all her rules and discipline) he set right many things that had gone wrong, and restored the privileges of the Church of Durham, which, in the confusion of the late troubles, had been in some part forgotten or done away. At this time, too, a keep or strong tower was built on the mound where the bishop's palace had been.

Bishop Æthelwine being dead, a new bishop, one Walcher, a Lorrainer, was, while William was at Durham in the year 1072, elected to the See, and it is in his reign that we first find clear evidence of the existence and exercise of the full Palatinate rights of the Prince-Bishops. About this time, too, King William took the Earldom of Northumberland from Earl Gospatric and gave it to Waltheof, already Earl of Huntingdon, a man greatly loved by the people for his good life and justice to all men. As Waltheof and Bishop Walcher were fast friends, there seemed prospect of good government for the border counties.

But this prospect was soon blighted, for Earl Waltheof fell under King William's displeasure on account of his alleged complicity in the revolt of the Earls, Roger of Hereford and Ralph of Norfolk, and he was tried before the great men of England, beheaded near Winchester on May 31, 1076, and buried at Crowland Abbey, in the marshes of Lincolnshire.

The death of Waltheof was a great blow to the cause of good government on the borders, and people in after years said that King William had no good luck after Waltheof's death. The Earldom of Northumberland was given to his friend the Bishop of Durham, who, if he had

been as firm in execution as he was just in intention, might have governed Northumberland and Durham for many years in peace.

In those days there was living in the north one Lyulph (the ancestor of the old Durham family of Lumley, of Lumley Castle), a just man, and greatly esteemed by the people. By some sad happening, bad blood came between Lyulph and two of the bishop's officials, and he was murdered in the night. It was said by some that the bishop's officials had instigated, or had, in some way, been concerned in this murder, and complaint was made to the bishop. He decided that the case should be brought before the Shire-Mote, to be held at Gateshead on May 14, 1080, and he himself presided at that Mote. It would seem, as far as we can tell, that the people had made up their minds beforehand that the accused officers should be found guilty, and that they lost patience with the bishop, who was endeavouring, as a good judge should, to weigh the evidence without passion or prejudice. At last, wearied with what seemed to be the bishop's attempt to shield his officers from well-merited punishment, one of the chief men raised the shout, "Short rede, good rede, slay ye the bishop". The cry was taken up on all sides, and the maddened multitude rushed upon the bishop and slew him as he sat on the justice-seat.

This was a great crime, for the bishop was acting as a judge, and a judge's person ought always to be held sacred from violence. When King William heard of this wicked act, he sent Bishop Odo, his brother, to Durham, with instructions to inquire into the matter and to punish the wrong doers. But Odo was an unjust man, and accepted bribes from the guilty and slew the guiltless, so that no good came out of his journey to Durham. Bishop Walcher being dead, and buried by the monks

of Jarrow in their church, which he had a few years earlier given to them, no more could be done, and thus these events ended.

Questions and Suggestion

1. What blood relationship was there between the Normans and the Engles and Saxons?
2. Why had William the Conqueror more trouble in subduing the North of England than the South?
3. Read Freeman's *Short History of the Norman Conquest.*

CHAPTER X

Of the building of the Cathedral at Durham by Bishop de St. Carileph in the days of William the Red, and how it remains to this day

The cathedral built by Aldune, goodly as it seemed in comparison with the timber-built church which had preceded it at Chester-le-Street, must have appeared poor and unworthy for its purpose to the Norman churchmen, who now successively sat on the throne of Durham. Fresh from the glorious cathedrals of Normandy, then in course of erection, it is not hard to understand that they longed to crown the hill of Dunholme with a church which should be fitting to such a site.

All over England the small Saxon churches were being taken down, wholly or in part, and rebuilt; and so widespread was this practice, that we have in England to-day only one complete specimen of a Saxon church, that at Bradford-on-Avon, which has remained, except for necessary repair, untouched by the destroying or restoring hand. What wonder if the cathedrals early engaged the attention of the Norman bishops, and in fact, we find

that all the old English cathedrals were in course of demolition, previous to rebuilding, before the end of the eleventh century.

But before we speak of the building of the cathedral at Durham, we must say some words about the castle, and also about Duke Robert and the trouble which came to the bishop through helping him, and about other things. You remember that the old palace of the bishops had been burnt down by Durham men in 1069, when they rose up against the Norman Earl Comines. This palace was, no doubt, built of wood, like the house of Cedric the Saxon in *Ivanhoe*. The blackened site of the old palace remained vacant until 1072, when King William built thereon a castle of stone. A castle in Norman days meant simply a keep, a square tower with immensely thick walls, and very small doors and windows, all rather high from the ground. The main object of the Norman castle-builder was to provide a point of vantage from which the inhabitants of a town or a tract of country could be kept in order, and which could be used as a place of refuge by Normans in any sudden rising of the natives.

There are very few of these early Norman keeps still standing in England, most Norman castles we see to-day, such as Newcastle and Dover, having been rebuilt on the foundations of the earlier keeps. There is, however, a very splendid and complete specimen at London, the White Tower on the north bank of the Thames below London Bridge, which was built by King William on the eastern side of the city wall, to command the river way to London from the sea, and also to remind the citizens that he had an arm to curb rebellion.

It was then such a keep as this that King William built at Durham, and we can easily see from its position on the hill how helpful it must have been to the early

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Durham Cathedral in the Eighteenth Century

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Norman Prince-Bishops in keeping the citizens of Durham in order. The Castle of Durham remained a keep only, until, in the reign of Bishop Pudsey, it was almost destroyed by fire, and was rebuilt, with additions, according to the style of his day. It was, no doubt, about the time of Bishop Pudsey that the bishops began to use Durham Castle as a place of residence. Since the Conquest they had usually lived at Bishop Middleham, where they had a house which was something between a fortified manor house and a castle, and they had gone to Durham only when their duties took them there.

After King William's death in 1087, and some months after his son, William the Red, had been hallowed to king, trouble arose because many of the Anglo-Norman nobles thought that Duke Robert, the eldest son of the late king, ought to succeed him. Bishop Odo started the difficulty, and he was joined by Earl Roger of Shrewsbury, Bishop Geoffrey of Coutances, and many others. Alone among the bishops of England, William de St. Carileph, Bishop of Durham, joined the malcontents, and, after William the Red had beaten them, the Bishop, although pardoned by the king, went over to Normandy for a time, until peace had been made between William and Robert. After the Bishop's return to his Principality, he devoted the remainder of his days, which were not many, to his duties as Bishop and Prince.

A new cathedral seemed to Bishop William a pressing need, not only because the old church was lacking in dignity, but also on account of the unsuitability of the then existing monastic buildings to the needs of the monks of St. Benedict, who had taken the place at Durham of the old monks of St. Cuthbert, followers of St. Columba.

Before the building of the new church was started, the

old one having been pulled down, the body of St. Cuthbert, ever the first care of Durham monks, was placed in a little chapel called the Wanded Church, because its walls were made of plaited willow. There the body remained until 1104, when it was removed to the new church.

On August 12, 1093, the foundation stone of the new cathedral was solemnly laid in the presence of King

Norman Arch and Pillar, Durham Cathedral

Malcolm of Scotland, and thereafter the building of the choir and transepts was begun. They are in the early Norman style, which is massive and grand, but without much ornament. The round arch, borrowed from the old Roman style of building, is characteristic of Norman work, as is also the heavy round pillar. The capitals or tops of the pillars of this period were either plain, formed of one cushion, or of several, as in our illustration, or else

rudely carved in a simple pattern. Sometimes the pillars were ornamented with patterns cut in them. All carved work in the early Norman period was done with an axe, for the masons of those days were not used to working stone with a chisel, though they soon attained to it. Illustrations in plenty of Norman work, early and late (some of the late work being curiously carved), can be seen in Durham Cathedral, so all boys and girls should look for it, and make drawings of what they see. If they think that they cannot draw, they should try, for drawing is easier than some people think. The choir and the transepts were completed before the end of the eleventh century, and by 1129 the body of the church was so far advanced that it was, in that year, dedicated to God's use, with all proper ceremonial, by Bishop Ralph Flambard.

Many years passed away before the cathedral, and the monastery on its south side, were completed. Bit by bit, as piety prompted and means enabled them, our forefathers put together the great pile, so that while the whole should stand, when completed, as a monument and testimony to the faith of all the people, the different parts might speak of the self-sacrifice and good intentions of those who had given the means for building them. It was not until 1480 that the last stone was laid to the great church by the addition of the upper storey of the central tower, and the monastery buildings were not finished until 1498, when the great cloister, which had been commenced seventy years earlier, was completed.

If you will study the plan, you will see how the cathedral and monastery were gradually built, and you will get some idea of how a Benedictine monastery is arranged.

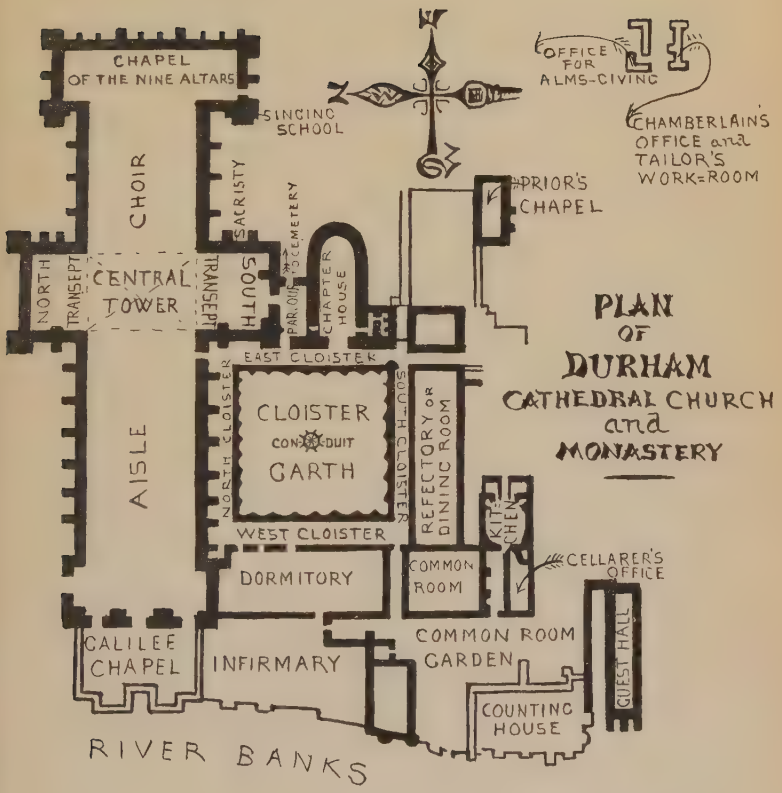
The interior of the cathedral, as we see it to-day, conveys an approximate idea only of its appearance in ancient times. We will try to draw a word-picture, and

suppose that we are present on Easter morning any year before 1540. All things in a church lead up to, and have their centre in the altar. To-day the high altar is ablaze with light, and besides the missal, or altar service-book, gold-bound and jewel-studded, we see the book called "the Book of life", wherein were written the names of all benefactors to the church, and which at Durham, as in all great churches, always lay upon the altar. This was done that they might be remembered and helped by prayer and sacrifice. Above the altar, beneath a silken canopy, hangs the golden box, wherein is the Bread of Life, and around are curtains of white silk of Damascus, with a wealth of crimson velvet and rich embroideries.

In front of the altar, and rather to the north side, stands the great Paschal candlestick, seven-branched, and made of latten, in the form of the four Evangelists, with strange dragon-like creatures at their feet, and figures of horsemen and monsters between them, very magnificent, and a wonderful work of art. So tall is the seventh branch of this candlestick that its candle reaches almost to the roof, and all the candles, which have been burning since Maundy Thursday and will remain alight until the Wednesday after the Feast of the Ascension, are bedecked with ribbons and flowers.

Behind the altar is the Nevill Screen, not yet robbed of its glorious wealth of gold and colour. Every niche has its statue of saint, bishop, or king, not white and cold as it has since become the fashion to make such things, but beautiful with golden crown and purple robe, or with cope of blue and golden mitre, while the carved work is delicately picked out with green in its recesses, the raised parts sparkling with burnished gold.

The rood-loft, which stretches across the open space beneath the western arch of the central tower, is also painted and gilt, as are the figures of the Crucified, and



PLAN
OF
DURHAM
CATHEDRAL CHURCH
and
MONASTERY

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of His mother and of the Apostle John on either side of the cross. Beneath is the rood-screen, whereon are carved figures of the Apostles, all beautiful with gold and colour, while in the centre of this screen, on its west side, is St. Saviour's altar, used at the services held for the people in the nave.

The rood-screen is pierced on either side of the nave altar by doors, passing through which we find another screen beneath the eastern arch of the tower, the choir screen, whereon are curiously carved a great number of statues of kings. Between the screens the bell-ringers are ringing the last peal before service. Stand aside and see what is going on. The choir stalls are soon filled with monks in black habits and white scapulars, while through the open doors of the rood-screen we see approaching, in long procession, monks in their sombre dress, clergy in cope and alb, servers and altar-boys, censer swingers and cross bearer, all got together to conduct to the high altar, with singing and great joy, the crucifix, which has since Good Friday lain in a specially prepared sepulchre, as a symbol of the resting of the body of Jesus in the rock tomb for three days.

Leaving the service to proceed, we will go behind the Nevill Screen, where St. Cuthbert's shrine, of fine green marble, richly gilt, within which rests his body, is the one object which claims our attention. It is formed like a miniature church, the whole, outside and inside, exquisitely carved and painted and all ablaze with gold and jewels of rare price. Upon the eastern corner irons of the rails surrounding the shrine are finely wrought iron candlesticks holding immense candles capable of giving sufficient light to read by at the nine altars against the eastern wall of the church. Bound to one of these candlesticks is a staff which bore the Nevill banner at the battle of Nevill's Cross, while the banner of the King

of Scots, captured in the same battle, together with many ancients (or flags) of Scottish nobles, are fastened to the shrine railings.

Being a high festival, the shrine will be opened, and, if we are present, we shall see the richly jewelled lid slowly raised by a rope from the roof of the church, the silver bells which hang round it ringing the while. Pilgrims, at the sound of the bells, will approach the shrine, kneel, and meditate awhile upon the virtues of St. Cuthbert, and ask of God grace to follow His servant's footsteps in good living.

All the windows of the church, we see, are one long, transparent picture record, in ruby, blue, deep purple, soft violet, lake, and yellow, setting forth to learned and unlearned, reminding the one and instructing the other, the ever unfolding story of God's dealings with men. Every church in England, cathedral and parish church alike, was once an open book for all to learn from, if they would. Most of them had picture windows, and all had painted walls, showing the Church's teaching about what people ought to do and what they ought to forbear.

At various times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all this beauty of worship was done away. St. Cuthbert's shrine was broken up; the stained glass from the windows was, bit by bit, stolen; in place of the many sumptuous altars round the walls where prayer and sacrifice might be offered to God, were placed monuments to the conceit and vainglory of man, and the old ways were in danger of being forgotten by Englishmen. In the early part of the nineteenth century better ideas began to gather force, and since that time some reparation has been made for the desecration of former days. Fragments of the old glass have been collected and laboriously put together as far as they served, and a great architect has tried to restore some of the done-

away beauty of the church. Beyond all, a feeling of respect, passing into reverence, for the Faith is filling men's hearts, that Faith which taught them to raise their cathedral towers to God's greater glory, to build their village churches, and to set up a cross in every market square as 'a reminder not to defraud in cheapening', and which nerved their arms to protect, not only their own hearths and homes, but those of all Englishmen, from the assaults of the Scots, once our implacable foes, but now our very brethren.

Questions

1. Why did King William build a castle at Durham? Compare the position of Durham Castle with those of the Tower of London and Norwich Castle.
2. What practical purpose is intended to be served by picture-windows and wall-paintings in churches?

CHAPTER XI

Of the Building of Castles, Hospitals, and Bridges by Bishop Flambard, and of the Troubles in Durham in King Stephen's Days

Bishop Ralph Flambard, who reigned over Durham from 1099, one year before King William the Red died, until 1128, in the reign of King Henry I, belongs, to a greater degree than most of the Prince-Bishops, to the general history of England. This is especially the case with regard to the earlier part of his career before he became bishop, and to some extent to subsequent years, when, as Minister to King William, he became very much disliked by the people. The bishop had held the high office of Chief Justiciary of England, an officer

Ruins of Norham Castle

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whose duty it was to represent the king and to protect his interests during his absence from the kingdom. When a king rules unjustly, as William the Red did, his representative is likely to be held responsible for many oppressive measures, and this fate befell Bishop Ralph. There is, however, no reason to believe that he used his exalted position to enrich himself, and, so far as his actions in his own principality are concerned, he is worthy of all praise.

After William the Red's death, his successor, Henry I, caused Bishop Flambard to be cast into prison, and there is no doubt but that he would have been brought to trial had he not, with the help of Duke Robert, escaped to Normandy, where he remained until Henry and Robert were reconciled. A condition of their reconciliation was that Bishop Flambard should be restored to the throne of Durham, and he accordingly returned to his own people, and for the remainder of his life gave all his care to their interests and well-being.

He it was who, in 1104, placed the body of St. Cuthbert in the choir of the new cathedral, and erected the splendid shrine of which we have spoken. He also built the nave and the aisles of the cathedral up to the vaulting of the roof, but death compelled him to leave the rest to his successors.

Among Bishop Ralph's many good works in Durham was the building of St. Giles's Church in Gilligate, the nave of which, in the later Norman style when it began to get lighter and more ornamental, stands to-day as it was left by its builder.

Another of Bishop Ralph's benefactions was the foundation in 1112 of Kepyer Hospital, dedicated to St. Giles, the gateway of which, with its Early English pointed arch, is so well known an object on the banks of the Wear, a mile from Durham City. The pointed arch

is the distinctive feature of the Early English style of architecture which grew out of the Norman style. It is supposed that the pointed arch was suggested by the practice, which became common with the later Norman architects, of interlacing two round arches so as to make an arcade or an ornamental window. The illustration shows how the pointed arch grew out of two round arches.

The founding of hospitals was a very usual form of charity in the Middle Ages, though it must not be sup-

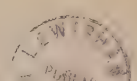
Norman Arcade

posed that they were hospitals for sick people in the modern sense of the word. They were rather what we should call to-day almshouses, unless they were lazar-houses designed for the reception of lepers (leprosy having been in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a not uncommon disease in England), as Sherburn Hospital was, and even then the poor lepers were not bedridden people, but lived together in much the same way as people in almshouses generally do.

These hospitals were usually built on one model. There was a large hall, with aisles divided into separate

rooms, and on the eastern side was a chapel. In the great hall the brethren, as the people who lived in them were called, assembled for meals, and for conversation and general in-door life, while the smaller rooms in the aisles were used for dormitories and other domestic purposes. Besides being places of retirement for old people, where they could live quiet lives in their declining years, hospitals were meant also to be places where hospitality could be had, and especially as guest-houses for the accommodation of poor folk on their way to visit the shrines of great saints. This is why hospitals are so often found along the great roads leading to these famous places. Looking at Map V you will see that the hospitals at Barnard Castle and Staindrop are both on the road from the south leading to St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham, while at Gateshead was another hospital to serve poor pilgrims coming from the northern part. Close to Durham itself were Kepyer and the hospital of SS. Edmund and Cuthbert, while at Greatham was the hospital of Our Lady and St. Cuthbert for the use of poor folk coming to the shrine from the eastern coast.

Besides making additions to the castle, which after all was more for his own benefit and that of his successors than for the good of the people at large, Bishop Ralph showed himself a great public benefactor when he built Framwellgate Bridge at Durham. We cannot praise bridge builders too highly. Try to imagine Durham without its two principal bridges over the Wear, or London without its bridges. Think of the great roads from the south without Croft Bridge and Pierce Bridge and the other bridges over Tees, or Newcastle without a bridge across the Tyne. Before Framwellgate Bridge was made people had to cross the river by a ford, often at great peril to themselves and much loss of animals and goods. It was about the year 1120 that



Bishop Ralph, to end this state of things, threw a bridge of two spans across the ninety feet of waterway, and defended the approach to the city by a gateway and tower, which were removed in 1760.

Norham Castle on the Tweed, of which only the keep and the gateway remain, was also built by Bishop Ralph to serve as part of the Border defences against the Scots, and also, no doubt, as a centre for the bishopric government over Norhamshire, and as a strong place for the sitting of his courts of law. As Norham now belongs to Northumberland, you should look into the history of that county for its story.

These works of Bishop Ralph are but few of those which he did for the benefit of his people and for the cause of orderly government in the north. When he got old, it is pleasant to call to mind that he thought over all he had done in his life, and knowing that many of his actions had not been pleasing to God, he directed that if any acts of injustice should be found to have been done in his reign, they should be righted, and, as a token of sorrow for his errors and of his desire for reparation of things wrongly done, he caused himself, when dying, to be carried into the cathedral, and there he solemnly offered his episcopal ring upon the high altar. So died in 1128, Bishop Ralph Flambard, a penitent but hopeful man, and found a resting-place beside his predecessors in the Chapter House.

For five years after Bishop Ralph's death, King Henry prevented the election of a new bishop, appropriating to himself during that time the rich revenues of the See. At last, in 1133, he allowed Galfrid Rufus, High Chancellor of England, a good and learned man, to be chosen as bishop. The great office of Lord High Chancellor was, in the Middle Ages and even as late as Henry VIII's time, always held by a churchman. This was partly

because many of the lawyers were clergymen, who, from a liking for the law of the Church, the canon law, which was derived from the civil law of the old Roman empire, had taken up with legal studies and had gradually got into practice in the king's law courts. Strictly speaking, the clergy were not allowed to practise in the king's courts, and so it is said that they used to wear small black caps to conceal the tonsure on their heads. This custom is supposed to have originated the little black spot on the top of the wig of a serjeant-at-law.

Bishop Galfrid began the roofing-in of the nave of the cathedral, and in his time, too, was built the beautiful Norman chapter-house (see the plan), which we cannot admire to-day, because it was wantonly destroyed by the cathedral clergy of the eighteenth century, who thought more of providing themselves with a comfortable sitting-room in which to transact business, than of preserving the most beautiful chapter-house ever erected in England.

In the second year of Galfrid's reign Henry I died, and Stephen of Blois became king by election of the great barons. This led to trouble in the north, because David of Scotland, who naturally took the part of his niece the Empress Maud, widow of the Roman emperor, Henry V, invaded the northern counties with a great army, but was defeated on the battle-field of the consecrated standard at Northallerton. David had hoped not only to help his niece's cause, but also to extend his own domains by annexing part of northern England. Although defeated, David was able to make terms of peace with Stephen, which were very favourable to himself; for the County of Northumberland, except the Castles of Bamborough and Newcastle, was for the time given up to him.

These border wars were a source of much suffering and

loss to the men of Durham, and were responsible for the fact that the houses in Durham, especially those in the open country, were so strongly built and were often really small castles or peels, as we call them, in which the farmer and his family could, in an emergency, shut themselves up and remain until the marauders had passed by. Among Durham peel towers, we may notice that at Ludworth, a nearly square tower of two rooms only, gloomy in the extreme, and entered by a spiral staircase in a corner turret; and the ruins of Dalden tower in the vale of Dalton, in early times the seat of one of the oldest of the baronial families of the bishopric, the Escollands.

When good Bishop Galfrid died in 1140, one William Comyn, the late bishop's chancellor, who had been trusted by him, and had acquired great influence in the Palatinate, seized the reins of government, and, helped by David of Scotland, held them for nearly five years. He wanted, however, to be made a real prince-bishop, so he tried hard to get the monks to elect him, but they firmly refused. Comyn knew that if he could obtain from the Pope a letter, recommending his claims, the monks would give way, so he pretended that he had sent to Rome for such a letter, while in fact he had not sent, because he knew that it would have been useless. The Pope would not have countenanced his lawless doings; but, all the same, Comyn produced what looked like a letter from the Pope, speaking well of Comyn and asking the monks to elect him as bishop.

The monks, believing the letter to be genuine (though it was forged), were disposed to give way, and Comyn would have been elected bishop had not the truth been found out in time. As soon as the clergy knew of Comyn's fraud they put an end to his claims by electing William of St. Barbara as bishop. They were brave

men, these monks, for the usurper Comyn was strong, and had a large force of men-at-arms to do his bidding. Called to Durham by the voice of the electors, William of St. Barbara, who was in London, started for the north, and was met at Winteringham in Yorkshire by some of the monks. It was arranged that he should return south to Winchester to be consecrated bishop. This having been done, he entered the bishopric, and was received at Bishopton by the hereditary constable of Durham Castle, Sir Roger Conyers. After receiving the homage of many of the barons, the bishop went to Durham, but, finding Comyn too strong for the force he had with him, he returned to Bishopton, where he was besieged by Comyn. Soon the situation of the besieged got desperate, for food ran short. At last the bishop escaped under cover of a truce, and took refuge in Lindisfarne until a better day dawned. He had not long to wait, for King Stephen came north to put Comyn into his proper place. Comyn, however, did not wait for the king to get within striking distance, but, seeing that his cause was hopeless, and knowing that justice was not on his side, he went to meet the king, and surrendered his ill-gotten hold over the Palatinate and its strong places. King Stephen left the bishop to deal with Comyn, and fortunate it was for that tricky usurper that he did so; for Bishop William was a mild man, and gave Comyn a free pardon when he expressed sorrow for his misdeeds, only requiring that he should do a penance which the bishop prescribed. In 1144 William sat down in the ancient throne chair which, until 1799, stood in the chapter-house, and which was then destroyed with the other contents of that glorious building.

Bishop William employed himself for eight years more in restoring the churches and other buildings ruined during the war between Maud and Stephen,

and in 1152 he died, and was buried in the chapter-house.

Questions and Suggestions

1. Go to the nearest ancient church which has aisles, and draw two pillars with the arch between them. In what style are they?
2. Mark, in any distinctive colour, on a map of Durham, the sites of the hospitals on the roads leading to Durham. In the same way, on a map of Kent, mark the hospitals on the roads leading to Canterbury, and compare the results.
3. How did Norham Castle influence the course of events on the Borders?

CHAPTER XII

How Bishop Pudsey went to Rome, and how he Reigned for Forty-two Years

Hugh Pudsey, whose long reign at Durham was full of life and movement, had been Archdeacon of Winchester and Treasurer of York, and perhaps he was helped to high office by the fact that he was nephew to King Stephen.

His election as Bishop of Durham at the early age of twenty-five excited the opposition of the Archbishop of York, but, instead of arguing the question, Pudsey betook himself to Rome, and there submitted his case to the Pope, who, after careful consideration of the case, decided that he was fit to be bishop, and confirmed his election. Also, to prevent the possibility of further controversy after Pudsey's return, the Pope himself consecrated him as bishop, and he returned in peace to his diocese. Very soon after Bishop Hugh's accession King Stephen died. His successor, Henry II, was not well-affected towards Pudsey, probably on account of his

relationship to King Stephen, and after a time disputes arose between the king and the bishop, principally about the tax called scutage.

Scutage means "the shield tax", and it got its name because it was paid by landholders instead of or in commutation for, as the proper phrase is, doing the military services which they were originally bound to do as a condition of holding their lands. These services required landholders to serve in the field under their lords, and also to provide a certain number of armed men and horses for their use. In proportion as men came to give more attention to peaceful pursuits this liability became increasingly difficult to enforce, and so kings and great lords began to find that the most convenient thing to do was to employ paid men (usually foreigners) as soldiers, and to accept from the landholders money payments instead of personal service.

It was Henry's attempt to force the men of Durham to pay scutage to him instead of rendering their military service to the bishop, from whom they held their lands, which led to the trouble between king and bishop. As a preliminary to levying the tax, the king wanted to have particulars of all the landholders in Durham, the extent and value of the lands they held, and the services which were due in respect of them, but the bishop refused to give the information.

This matter of scutage, and other things, which arose out of King Henry's jealousy of the bishop's Palatinate powers, kept up ill-feeling between them, and when the king's sons, Richard and Geoffrey, rebelled against him during his absence abroad, the bishop is said to have helped them by conniving at a raid of the Scots over the border, and by allowing Flemish troopers, hired by the king's sons, to land at Hartlepool. Whether this charge was justifiable or not, we do not know, but it is fair to say

that this was not the only occasion when the Scots got past the border defences and foreign troops were landed on the coast of Durham, without any blame being cast on the bishop.

When Henry had beaten William the Lion of Scotland, and taken him prisoner at Alnwick, and had put down his sons' rising, he turned upon the bishop, and made the charges to which we have referred a pretext for seizing all the bishop's castles outside the Palatinate; one of them, Northallerton in Yorkshire, he razed to the ground, and it was never rebuilt.

While King Henry lived there was constant friction between the king's system of government and the Durham Palatinate system. Henry was a wise king, who had the good idea of bringing all England under one rule, but he did not sufficiently realize the need of a strong, independent fighting-arm in the north of England as a check on Scottish raids.

In 1180 Bishop Pudsey undertook a great work, somewhat similar in character to Doomsday Book, which King William I had compiled for the greater part of England. You remember what Doomsday Book was, a list of landholders and a description of the lands they held, together with an exact account of the stock on the farms, and of everything which had relation to the land, such as fisheries and rights of pasture; also, who held the land in the time of Edward the King and Confessor, and its value then and at the time of the survey.

Durham, as a County Palatine, had been exempted from the Doomsday survey, and Bishop Pudsey thought that it would be useful to have such an account of his principality as the king had of the rest of England. It is probable, however, that the bishop already had a list of the great landholders in Durham, who held their lands directly from him by knight-service, i.e. military tenure.

Darlington Church

and so he confined the survey which he caused to be made in 1180 to the people who held lands under the great landholders. With this exception, the bishop's survey was like Doomsday Book, and gives a very full description of the manors in Durham, the services by which the lands in them were held, and the duties and rights of the men who lived on the land. The survey begins with an account of the Manor of Boldon, the services in which are described at length, and when it happened, as was very often the case, that similar services prevailed in other manors they are said to be the same as in Boldon. From this circumstance the survey is usually called "The Boldon Book". The original survey has been lost or destroyed, and it is believed to have been taken away, with other records, from the Exchequer at Durham by the king's officers after the death of Cardinal Wolsey. Fortunately, more than one copy was made, and there are three in existence, one in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, another in the auditor's office there, and a third in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

At last the long contention between King Henry and the bishop was ended by the king's death in 1189, and the accession of his son, Richard the Lion-hearted, brought for a time brighter days to Bishop Pudsey. King Henry's wars and reforming projects had been expensive; and when he died there was little money in his exchequer. The Bishop of Durham was rich, and one of the earliest events of the new reign was the purchase by him from King Richard of two great lordships, the Earldom of Northumberland and the Wapentake of Sadberge.

Bishop Hugh was the second prince-bishop who had held the Earldom of Northumberland, Bishop Walcher having been the first. It would have been better for the peace in the north if Northumberland had been made part

of the County Palatine of Durham, for then the bishop could have ruled both counties under one law, and besides other advantages a united front could have been made against the Scots. As it was, the men of Northumberland were usually ill-governed, and there were perpetual feuds between them and the bishop's men, which led to raids by one upon the other, in which the guilty were seldom brought to justice, for a crime committed in one county could not by law be inquired into in the other. As the bishop's men, who were the richer, were less given to raiding their neighbours than the Northumberlanders, this system did not work favourably for them. When, too, the Scots made a raid the Northumberlanders and the Durham folk did not always work well together, and it is to be feared that sometimes the Scots got too easily through the border county into Durham. While Bishop Hugh lived he kept both counties in his peace, but upon his death, as he had bought the Earldom of Northumberland for his lifetime only, the two counties again fell apart.

Seven miles east from Darlington, on the road to Stockton, is the little village of Sadberge, no way remarkable, and showing no sign that it has ever been a centre of government and influence for many miles round. Sadberge means "the hill of pleas", and it marks the place where the people of the shire, in the early days of the Engle settlements in Northumbria, met to arrange their public affairs. It may, perhaps, have been used for this purpose in even more ancient times, long before the Roman legions found their way to Britain, for the open air assembly for purposes of law-making and justice-doing was customary with all the Aryan peoples, and traces of it can be found in places as far apart as India, Greece, Italy, and Germany.

Coming to historical times, Sadberge had been for

many centuries the centre of a district or shire, which extended to the west beyond Barnard Castle. When the Danes became the dominant power in the north, this district got to be called a Wapentake, and it was by this title, the Wapentake of Sadberge, that Bishop Hugh bought it, and annexed for all time to the County Palatine of Durham all rights of government over this ancient district. By this phrase—rights of government—is meant the exclusive right to make, to explain, and to enforce laws, also the right to impose taxes according to custom.

For the Earldom of Northumberland and the Wapentake of Sadberge Bishop Hugh gave King Richard £11,000; and glad the king was to have the money, for he was about to embark for the Holy Land, as a soldier of the Cross, to wrest the holy places from the hands of the infidel. Bishop Hugh at first also meant to go, and he got together a large body of men and great stores of arms and necessary things for the expedition; but he was persuaded to remain at home, so that he might help in governing England while the king was away. So King Richard departed on the Third Crusade, having appointed Bishop Hugh Chief Justiciary of England, Viceroy of all England north of Humber, and Governor of Windsor—temporary king in all but the name.

In a little time, however, our prince-bishop's great estate excited envy in the hearts of lesser men, and one of them, Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, denounced him as a traitor to his king. Upon Bishop Hugh going to London to disprove this calumny, he was arrested and lodged in the Tower of London. Here he remained until the power of the Bishop of Ely was done away by Prince John and other lords.

As soon as he was free, the bishop heard how that

King Richard was a prisoner in Germany, being kept there by the emperor in expectation of a great ransom. Straightway Bishop Hugh set about collecting money for the king's ransom; but before his money could be forwarded, the ransom was paid from other sources, and the king returned. Thus Bishop Hugh had more money on his hands than he had thought to have, and he applied it in divers good works among his own people.

Among this bishop's benefactions to the Palatinate, he made many additions to the cathedral and, in particular, to him the beautiful Galilee Chapel owes its origin. Before Bishop Hugh's time the principal entrance to the cathedral was at the west end, but he built a new entrance on the north side, where we enter to-day, and against the west end of the church he set up the Galilee Chapel, with foundations built into the solid rock. This chapel is the finest complete specimen in England of transitional Norman Early English work, where the heavy Norman style was beginning to change into the lighter Early English. The richly moulded arches are Norman, while the clustered pilasters, originally in sets of two, are Early English. The way into the Galilee Chapel, as built by Bishop Hugh, was by a doorway in the north wall, since blocked up. The interior of this chapel, like all churches before the changes in religion made in the sixteenth century, was richly coloured and bright with gold, and you may still see remains of colouring on the arches and walls. The monument called the tomb of the Venerable Bede you all know. It was set up in the sixteenth century over, as is supposed, the bones of the saint, which had been removed from the splendid shrine in which they had been enclosed by Bishop Hugh. The shrine was broken up, and all its carved work, curiously painted and gilt, was thrown aside.

Another of Bishop Hugh's additions to the cathedral

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was the delicately cut Norman work, suggesting the crown of thorns, forming the archway leading from the cloisters into the cathedral.

Bishop Hugh, too, was mindful of the sufferings of those unhappy beings, the lepers, victims of a terrible disease not yet stamped out in the east, but unknown in Europe for generations past. For them he founded Sherburn Hospital near Durham, still existing, though in a greatly altered state, and serving now a different end to that designed by the bishop. Here, according to the founder's intention, were to be maintained in a condition of the greatest comfort sixty-five lepers, who were to live their lives apart from their fellows under the government of a master, who should be one of themselves.

No part of Bishop Pudsey's work at Sherburn remains to this day, as not only were all his buildings there, except the chapel and a tower, destroyed by a marauding band of Scots in 1300, but the chapel has twice been burnt down, and all the buildings have undergone successive rebuilding and restoration, until nothing has been left of the original but fragments of wall here and there. In less than 250 years after Bishop Hugh's foundation at Sherburn leprosy had become so rare in England that inmates could not be found for his hospital. Whereupon Bishop Langley, who then ruled over Durham, altered it into a house of alms for poor folk, and such it remains to this day.

Another foundation of Bishop Hugh's was the hospital at Witton Gilbert, three miles distant from Durham City, hard by the church on the hill above the river. No remains, except a Gothic window, are to be seen of this hospital, and the provision made for its maintenance has been applied to other purposes.

Down stream some five miles from the city, through Kepyer Wood, though only three and a half miles by

Ruins of Finchale Priory

road, is all that is left of Finchale Priory, founded, not by Bishop Hugh himself, but with money which had been his, in the first year after his death. Here, on the river bank, where Wear sweeps over its rocky bed round a grassy lawn, the hermit Godric had for sixty years lived a life of prayer and contemplation, and it was to honour God through St. John the Baptist and His servant Godric, that the Priory of Finchale was set up as a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Durham. The first buildings must have been small and unimportant, for it was not until 1240 that the building of the Priory Church was begun, and it was twenty years later before the cloister was started. Finchale was used by the monks of Durham as a place of health and rest for over-wearied monks, and there was a system whereby four of the monks at Finchale were always visitors from Durham Abbey on holiday at the Priory. St. Godric's shrine was in the south transept, and was a place of great resort for prayer and meditation.

Seal of Finchale Priory

After the nine monks of Finchale had been driven from their old home in the days of King Henry VIII, and their £120 yearly income had been handed over to the new Dean and Chapter of Durham, as grantees of the property of the old Abbey of Durham, the priory buildings were dismantled of everything which could be turned into money, such as the bells, the lead on the roofs, and the iron window-frames and fittings, with the panelling of the great rooms and the oak-framed gates and doors. This being done, the structures were left to decay and gradually fall

to pieces by the action of wind and weather, helped by occasional raids by people in search of building material. About 1836, however, some attention was given to the preservation of the few remaining walls and pillars of the old buildings.

In Bishop Hugh's days towns were beginning to become important, owing to the extension of commerce and the consequent enrichment of the trading burgesses. Kings and great lords found it to their advantage to encourage commerce by granting charters of incorporation to the inhabitants of the larger towns, and the bishop was no way backward in granting such charters and other aid towards municipal prosperity to the borough towns in the Palatinate.

After Bishop Hugh's death, which came about in 1195, in his seventieth year, evil days came to Durham, and lasted twenty-two years. The greater part of this period was the bad time when King John reigned, and the Bishop of Durham, Philip de Pictavia, having taken the king's part against the Pope, was excommunicated, and got much trouble and an untimely end thereby. For nine years after Philip's death there was no Bishop of Durham, and people managed as best they could without a ruler. After King John's death a bishop was elected—Richard de Marisco—but he, after a stormy reign of eight years, embittered by quarrels with the monks of Durham, died suddenly at Peterborough Abbey, where he had rested on a journey to London.

There came in succession two good bishops, Richard Poor, a man of peace, who, being grieved at the ill-blood which had been between some of the bishops and the monks, inquired into the cause of the quarrels, and made new rules to remedy the mischief which he found, so that after his day there were no more such feuds. After him Nicholas of Farneham reigned for eight years, when,

finding his high position irksome to his humility, he gave up his throne for a quiet and obscure life.

The bishop who next attracts our notice is Robert Stichill, a monk of Finchale. In his reign there came a windfall to the prince-bishop in the form of all the estates within the Palatinate which had belonged to Simon de Montfort and his sons, and which had been forfeited after the battle of Evesham. Among them was the Manor of Greatham, out of the profits of which Bishop Robert built and endowed the Hospital of God, our Lady, and St. Cuthbert at Greatham, for forty-seven poor men, of whom five were to be priests and two clerks in minor orders. Unhappily, the old buildings were done away in 1803, and the hospital rebuilt after the designs of the architect Wyatt, who damaged so many remains of Gothic art, among them Durham Cathedral itself.

Passing over the uneventful episcopate of Bishop Robert de Insula, which ended in 1283, we reach the reign of Anthony Beck, as notable a man as ever wore a crown.

Questions and Suggestion

1. Why was it unfair for Henry II to require Durham landholders to pay scutage to him?

2. How did the facts that England was a richer country than Scotland, and Durham men richer than the men of Tynedale, affect the character of border warfare?

3. Read Sir Walter Scott's essay on *Border Antiquities.*

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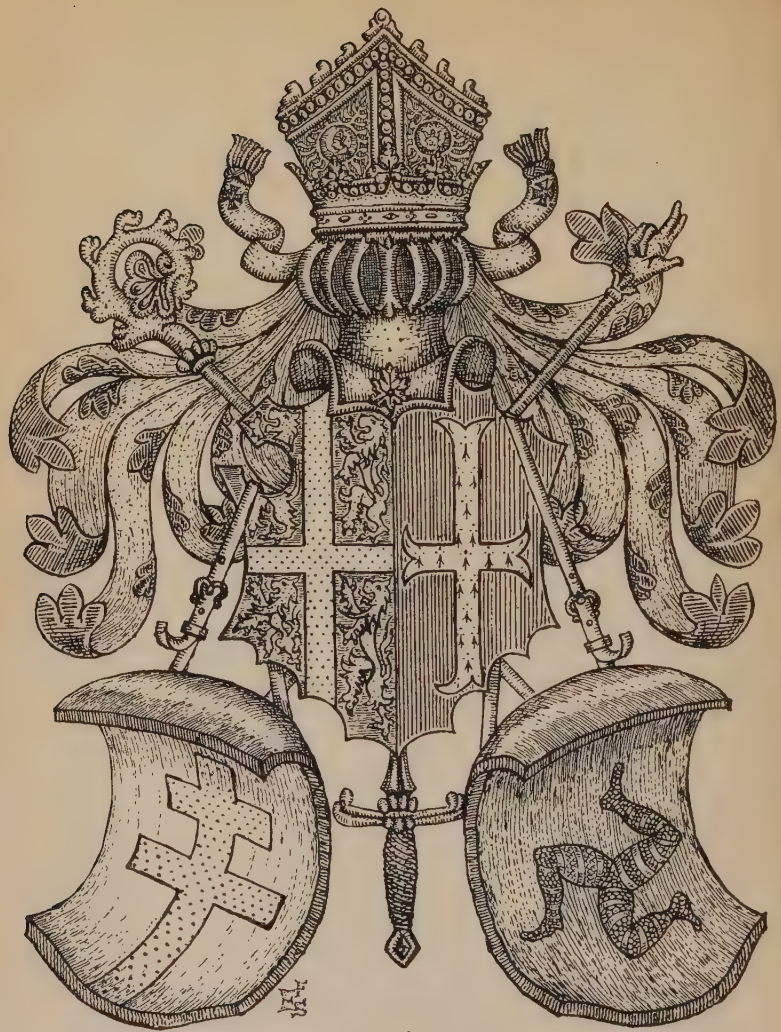
CHAPTER XIII

Of Bishop Anthony Beck: of his Wisdom, and how he became a King, and also Patriarch of Jerusalem

Upon the death of Bishop Robert de Insula, Anthony the Archdeacon, a son of Walter Beck, Baron of Eresby in Lincolnshire, was elected as his successor. Walter Beck, the bishop's ancestor, was a Norman, who made his fortune by marrying the daughter of Hugh of Tatshall, a Saxon thane. To Walter was granted the Lordship of Eresby, and it came about that to his descendant, another Walter, were born at Eresby three sons, of whom the second was Archdeacon Anthony and the third was Thomas, Bishop of St. David's.

Anthony Beck's bringing up had been that of a young noble destined to clerkly pursuits; while he had acquired great learning, he had also become an accomplished knight. He was thus well fitted to the office to which he had been called, one requiring the sanctity and learning of the priest combined with kingly large-heartedness and the astuteness of the statesman.

Bishop Anthony had not been many years on the throne of Durham when an event happened which called for the exercise of all his great qualities. The throne of Scotland had fallen vacant, and a contest had arisen between two of the claimants, John Balliol and Robert Bruce. Edward I of England was asked to decide between them, and he invited the Estates, or Parliament, of Scotland to meet him at the Prince-Bishop's Castle of Norham. As soon as the conference had been opened, Edward raised the often-contested point as to whether Scotland was a fief of the English crown, and demanded,



Arms of Bishop Beck, as Prince-Bishop of Durham, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and King of the Isle of Man

as a condition of the arbitration, that the Scots should admit his claim in this respect, and should, in token of such admission, hand over to him the Scottish royal castles. This demand was bitterly resented by the Scots; and when they showed unmistakable signs of dissent, Bishop Anthony arose, and addressed them with honied speech and eloquence beyond measure, but all leading up to the over-lordship question, and putting it before them in such fashion that they were, at length, persuaded to forego their objections and to admit King Edward's claim. Thus did the clerkly bishop overcome in debate the learned clerks and lords of Scotland.

It fell out, however, that peace between England and Scotland had no long continuance, for Balliol, become King of Scotland as the result of the Norham conference, soon withdrew his submission to King Edward, and the year 1296 saw an English army cross the border, beat the Scots at Dunbar, besiege Edinburgh, receive the surrender of Stirling Castle, and return in triumph, with King John Balliol a prisoner, and bearing with them the Scottish crown and sceptre and the ancient stone of destiny upon which Scottish kings were wont to be enthroned.

This expedition gave rise to trouble between the prince-bishop and his subjects; for, when the bishop called out the military array of the Palatinate to attend him into Scotland to help King Edward against the Scots, many Durham men refused to obey the summons, because, as they said, and said truly, their duty to their prince did not bind them to go to war outside the Palatinate, but only to defend St. Cuthbert's Patrimony against attack by outside enemies. They were, they declared, *Haly-werefolc*, men whose military prowess was confined to holy work, and they would not help England's king to bind his yoke upon the Scots. Such was the claim set up by

Durham men; but, though many were firm and stayed at home, Bishop Anthony was able to march northward with an army which made a gallant show for his principality—one thousand foot-soldiers and five hundred horsemen, all fully armed and accoutred for war. A brave array this little feudal army made, the men of each manor marching under their lord's banner, the steel caps and pikes of the footmen and the armour of the horsemen bright in the sunlight, and the banners gay with gules and azure and all the herald's bravery of metal and colour. At the head of one company the bull's head of Nevill flaunted in the breeze, and the blue banner, with a golden sleeve worked thereon, of Conyers Lord of Sockburn flew before another, while the Lord of Dinsdale with his nodding plume of ostrich feathers led his men under the ermine-spotted banner of his house. And there were seen the Moses' head crest of the Baron of Hylton and the banner of Sir Thomas Thweng, with its three green parrots in a silver field, followed by the ensigns of other barons of the bishopric. Then came the men of the bishop's own household, preceded by twenty-six standardbearers, holding aloft great silken banners of cunning needlework, wrought with gold and many colours, showing on one, our Lady, and on others divers saints, and yet on others the bearings of the house of Beck and its alliances. There followed a great array of knights, to the number of a hundred and forty, each with an esquire. Bishop Anthony is seen, too, in warlike guise, in armour inlaid with gold, while his helmet enriched with a coronet is carried by an attendant knight. He wears withal his bishop's hat, and a purple cloak overspreads his horse's flanks. With this aid against the Scots, Bishop Anthony joined King Edward; and the Scots being for the time (though William Wallace was to arise in the following year) speedily

reduced to submission, the Durham men were soon back to their farms and homesteads.

But trouble was in store for Bishop Anthony. King Edward, though glad to avail himself of the power of the Palatinate in his wars with the Scots, grew jealous in peaceful times of its ruler's great estate. A small matter served as a pretext for interference in the bishopric. It happened that a lawsuit between the bishop and the Prior of Durham, relative to certain books which, as the prior said, the bishop had borrowed from the convent library, and failed to return, was pending in the courts at Rome, and the bishop thought it well to go to Rome to present his view of the case. The king said that the bishop ought not to have left England without his leave, so he seized all the property belonging to the See of Durham upon which he could lay his hands. The real reason for this act of injustice was the great advantage which had come to the bishop owing to the attainder of Balliol and Bruce, under which all their lands in Durham had been forfeited to him as Prince Palatine. The king wanted to reward his own friends, so, having despoiled the bishop, he gave Hartness and Hartlepool to the Clifford family and Barnard Castle to the Beauchamps.

When, however, the hand of death was heavy upon Edward, as he lay at Burgh-on-the-Sands, struck down on his way to drive Robert Bruce from the Scottish throne, he bethought him of the wrong done to Bishop Anthony, and a great sorrow came to him therefor. Straightway he would see the bishop, and messengers rode hard across the Cumberland Fells to Durham. Quickly as horse could carry him, the bishop was by Edward's side; what the speech between them was we do not know, but we can guess that it was of sin remembered and of pardon to the penitent.

Edward's repentance, so far as Durham was concerned,

bore fruit in the immediate restoration to the See, as far as was possible, of the property wrongly taken therefrom; and, because the lands given to the Beauchamps and Cliffords could not safely be wrested from them, the bishop was created King of the Isle of Man. This little island, thirty miles long by eight miles broad, away in the Irish Sea, 120 miles from Durham City towards the sun-setting, had for some centuries been feudally held sometimes under England, sometimes under Scotland, and at other times under Norway, but always as a separate kingdom. Bishop Anthony having become King of Man, ruled for four years Manxmen as well as Durham folk.

Another honour came to Bishop Anthony when the Pope made him Patriarch of Jerusalem, one of the highest positions in the Church, and one which in theory involves the oversight and care of the holy places in Jerusalem and superintendence over the clergy in Palestine.

Like most of the prince-bishops, Bishop Anthony spent large sums in building and repairing churches, colleges, and hospitals. In 1292 he rebuilt the Church of our Lady and St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, with its spire 158 feet high; and, because of his great reverence for the memory of St. Cuthbert, and that Mass and the divine office might be sung daily where the body of the saint had rested so long, he endowed in that church a college of priests, and thereby raised it to great honour among the churches of the Palatinate.

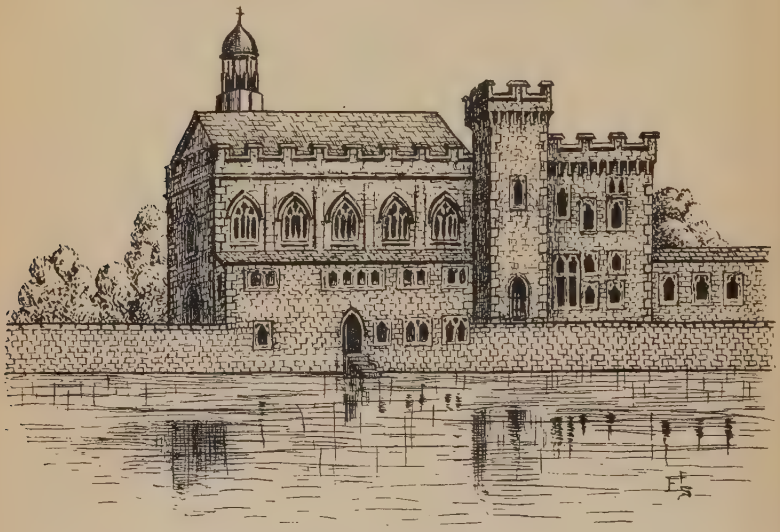
Nine years earlier, the Church of All Saints at Lanchester, one of the oldest in Durham, and built largely of stones from the ruins of the Roman station on the hill, had been taken in hand by Bishop Anthony. This church was originally built in the early Norman period, and it is uncertain how far the Norman walls were utilized when about 1250 it was rebuilt in the Early

English style. If we were to judge of the age of Lanchester Church by the style of its windows, we should say that it was built in the fourteenth century, for the windows are of the style then prevalent—that called Decorated; but we should make a great mistake. We should forget that it was the custom of our ancestors to insert windows of the style of their own day in ancient walls; and this is what has happened at Lanchester. Probably the builders of 1250 took down part of the old church, leaving the chancel arch undisturbed, and rebuilt it in the Early English style, using the Norman mouldings and accessories as far as possible. Whether Bishop Anthony put in the decorated windows is doubtful; probably he did not, as the decorated style did not become common until after 1300. He certainly did, however, in 1283, raise this church to the position of a collegiate church, and you may see the stalls in which the dean and seven canons sat when they sang the Daily Office as their founder provided. The rules or statutes which he made for their guidance are extant, and we can gather from them what the duties of collegiate priests were in those days.

At Bishop Middleham, where the bishop's manor house was almost a castle, Bishop Anthony rebuilt the church in much the same way as had been done at Lanchester. Here, too, was an early Norman church, and in this instance it seems likely that the old church was almost entirely taken down, and the walls rebuilt with the old materials as far as they would go. In other respects the church is Early English in style, and as it had been allowed during the eighteenth century to fall into a ruinous condition, it underwent restoration about seventy years ago.

Bishop Anthony's activity in building was not confined to the Palatinate, for he set up on his Manor of Eltham

in Kent a very fine house conveniently near to London. This house was enriched in Edward IV's time by the rebuilding of the great hall, which is still standing, and by other additions. Not content with Eltham manor house as a residence in southern England, this bishop built a palace to serve as a town house during the sittings of Parliament, on the Strand or bank of the Thames, hard



Durham Place, London

by the Ivy bridge and near Westminster, with gardens adjoining the river, and steps from which to take boat.

Upon the site of Durham Place, as this Strand palace was usually called, we see to-day the collection of Georgian brick houses called, after the brothers Adam who built them, the Adelphi. Strictly speaking, the Bishop of Durham was not a lord of Parliament, for he was not a subject of the English crown, but a feudatory prince, standing in much the same relation to the King of

England as a prince of the holy Roman empire did to the emperor. When, however, as we have read, Sadberge became attached to the Palatinate, the Bishop of Durham was summoned to the House of Lords as Earl of Sadberge, and it was by that title that the Bishops of Durham sat in Parliament down to the year 1836. Bishop Anthony's Strand palace was rebuilt by one of his successors, Bishop Hatfield, in very magnificent style, and it remained the London house of the See until in the time of Bishop Tunstall it passed to Henry VIII.

When in 1311 at his Manor of Eltham, Bishop Anthony died, the monks of Durham resolved to bury him within the cathedral church, thereby making a new departure, for all his predecessors had been buried in the chapter-house. Yet, out of respect for St. Cuthbert, they would not carry the dead bishop through the church; so they cut a hole through the north wall of the choir, and by that road brought Bishop Anthony to his burial in the chapel of the nine altars. The resting-place of Bishop Anthony Beck was, unfortunately, selected in modern times as a site for a memorial to one of the nineteenth century bishops—Van Mildert—whose statue was set atop of his great predecessor's gravestone.

Questions and Suggestion

1. Explain the proverb, "The pen is mightier than the sword", by reference to the career of Bishop Beck.

2. To what use, during the Middle Ages, was much of the material of the ruined Roman buildings put? Illustrate your answer by reference to existing mediaeval buildings in Durham County.

3. Read Sir Walter Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*.

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CHAPTER XIV

Of the Troubles with the Scots in the Days of Bishops Kelloe and Beaumont, and how the Durham Men Fought with them at Halidon Hill

Richard Kelloe, a monk of Durham, who succeeded the princely Bishop Anthony, was a man who loved peace and humility, and yet was called to rule Durham in an unquiet age. He belonged to the family of Kelloe, who in the fourteenth century held the manor of the same name, the little church of which, dedicated to St. Helen, mother of the Emperor Constantine, stands in the valley of Kelloe Beck (famed for trout), half a mile from the village. It is noticeable that most of the ancient village churches in the border counties are built with a view to defence in case of need; the walls are thick and the windows are small. Kelloe Church is a case in point, as is also Elwick Church, standing high over the deep valley which divides it from the village, and forming a strong vantage ground for defensive purposes.

Since the death of Edward I, the Scots had been very active in raiding the English border, and Bishop Richard had not been a year on his throne ere the Bruce invaded Durham, and overran the whole county, burning churches and halls and carrying away booty. To make matters worse, a band of Tynedale cattle-thieves took advantage of their neighbour's difficulties to descend on the Palatinate and to plunder right and left. On the approach of the bishop's men under the command of his brother, Patrick Kelloe, they retreated with their spoils to Holy

Island, but were followed by Patrick and his men, who inflicted a severe defeat upon them.

At last the weak King Edward II awoke to a sense of his country's need, and marched into Scotland with 100,000 men, only to meet with a terrible defeat at Bannockburn. After this, no wonder that the Scots grew ever bolder, and in the following year, 1315, made another descent on Durham. It was at this time that the country house of the Priors of Durham, Beaurepaire

ELWICK CHURCH, DURHAM

(Bearpark), which had been built seventy years earlier by Prior Bartram, was destroyed; and that Bruce's rage, because of spite against the Cliffords, was turned against his own ancestral town of Hartlepool, which his father, then its Lord, had protected with walls and towers, and had made convenient for big ships by the addition of a harbour.

Bishop Richard, notwithstanding his constant fighting with the Scots, was not behind his predecessors in building and repairing, and we find that he rebuilt his

manor house at Stockton, long ago destroyed except for a short, thick-set stone tower.

In 1316, worn out with so many disasters, poor Bishop Richard died at the manor house of Bishop Middleham, and was buried in the chapter-house at Durham.

The next bishop, Lewis Beaumont, was a very different man to Bishop Richard. Young, handsome, cousin to the reigning queen and brother to Henry Beaumont, a great lord in the north, who was high in the counsels of Edward I, he might, one may think from his rank and connexions, have led men to anticipate in him a second Anthony Beck; but Bishop Lewis was not a man of similar calibre to Bishop Anthony. A misfortune overtook him at his first coming to the bishopric, for, as he passed by Rushyford, midway on the great north road between Darlington and Durham, in all the state of the Prince Palatine, and having in his company two cardinals sent by the Pope to assist at his enthronement, he was set upon by a marauding party under the command of the governor of Mitford Castle in Northumberland. His attendants being overcome in fight, the cardinals were spoiled of their belongings and the bishop taken prisoner to Mitford Castle, where he was held to ransom at a great price. This wild act of lawlessness shows us to what a sad pass the northern parts of England had come.

While Edward II lived very little was done to bring the war with the Scots to an end, for England herself was torn with dissension and the men of Durham could do no more than try to defend their homes from the marauders from across the border. In 1327, however, Edward II died, and it happened that an unusually large expedition was sent in that year by King Robert to harry Northumberland and Durham. This army, like most Scotch armies, was composed of lightly-armed men, mounted on short, strong, and very swift horses, and

a peculiarity was that they carried no provisions beyond a bag of oatmeal slung at their saddle-bows, and an iron plate fixed behind their saddles on which to cook the meal. For meat, they depended on stealing cattle from the English. Twenty thousand men so accoutred, under Lord James Douglas and the Earl of Murray, crossed the borders, and by quick marches pushed their way through to south Durham, pillaging and burning as they went. The young king Edward III marched north with a great army, unlike the Scots, heavily armed and carrying large quantities of provisions. The active Scots evaded the English for a long time, but at length Edward came up with them, encamped on a steep hill on the northern bank of the Wear. The English pitched their tents on the south side of the river, opposite to the Scots, and tried to provoke them to battle. The Scots would not be drawn, however, and after leading the English a dance by shifting their camp over night to another part of the river bank, and on another night making a raid on the English and nearly taking King Edward prisoner, they suddenly in the dead of night withdrew, and retreated northward over a road which they made by digging a trench two miles long through a morass (for centuries after called the Shorn Moss), and filling it up with faggots. When the English took possession of the Scotch camp, they found over 500 carcasses of cattle (their own which had been stolen), 300 leather caldrons, 100 spits with meat on them ready for roasting, and 10,000 pairs of worn-out shoes; truly a curious collection!

After five years of peace, war again broke out over the question of the kingship of Scotland. Edward Balliol, son of King John, assisted by a number of English nobles, Henry Beaumont, the bishop's brother, among them, had got himself crowned at Scone; but, being shortly obliged to flee for his life to England, Edward

joined forces to help him on to his throne again, and the men of Durham, under Henry Beaumont, marched with them. The English besieged Berwick, and while, in April, 1333, they sat before that town, the Scots came against them. The Scotch army was drawn up on the side of Halidon Hill, two miles from Berwick, a position which exposed them to the deadly fire of the English archers, whereby they were thrown into confusion, and although they bravely strove to extricate themselves by charging the archers, their diminished ranks were no match for the English cavalry which came to support their bowmen, and the remnant of the Scotch army, after incredible slaughter (7 earls, 27 bannerets, and 36,000 foot-soldiers, an old chronicler tells us, though these figures are no doubt greatly exaggerated), was soon in full flight. This battle, like so many others, was won by the English archers, who were trained from boyhood to use the long bow and were taught to pull the bow-string to the right ear, not only to the breast, as was the custom among other nations. Every Englishman was a good archer, and so great was the force of an arrow sent from an English bow that, according to the chronicler, Thomas of Walsingham, it would penetrate a steel coat from side to side, transfix a helmet, and splinter a lance.

After Halidon Hill the Scots were for a long time kept in check, and Durham folk had peace for twelve years. So Bishop Lewis's later years were quieter than his earlier ones, and when, in September, 1333, he died at Brantlingham in Yorkshire, he was buried before the high altar in his cathedral church.

Questions and Suggestion

1. Compare the chances of success between lightly armed and heavily armed troops, with reference to the nature of the country, whether hilly or flat, intersected by rivers and mosses, or otherwise, and with special regard to the surface character of north-west Durham.

2. To what (other than personal qualities, such as courage) is the success of the English armies in the wars of the Middle Ages mainly attributable? Illustrate your answer by reference to the battles of Halidon Hill and Crecy.

3. Read "Of the Battle of Halidon Hill" in the book called *Edward III and his Wars* (published by David Nutt, London, 1887).

CHAPTER XV

Concerning Bishop Richard de Bury, of his Learning and of his great Love for Books, and of his Zeal in Collecting them

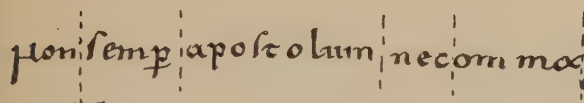
Richard Angraville, called de Bury, from his birthplace, Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, consecrated Bishop of Durham in December, 1333, next claims our attention, not so much for his exalted rank and worldly dignity (for he held at different times the highest offices in the State, including that of Lord High Chancellor), but principally for his love of learning, his regard for learned men, and the care with which he collected books, and took pains for their preservation.

In Bishop Richard's days the art of printing was not in use, even if it had, as some writers say, been invented, and people who wanted to read books either had to buy written copies at a great price, or to borrow them. Most of these copies were made by monks, and book-copying was a work always carried on in religious houses. In every monastery it was the business of the Precentor, called also the Armarius, to provide the parchment, pens, inks, colours, and other materials needed by the book-writers and copyists for their work. The art of writing was a difficult one to acquire, and the monk writers became very proficient with the pen. Their writing was

much more beautiful and regular than our writing is to day, as you will see by our specimens; and many of these books were ornamented with initial letters and pictures done in gold, silver, and colours. The copyists did their work in the cloister of the monastery, each one having a little room or study called a carol, by a window, partitioned off from the rest of the cloister. Seated in his carol, each copyist, day by day, hour by hour, worked on steadily and patiently, copying one book after another. When bound up in wooden boards, which were often covered with leather and ornamented with colours, sometimes even with gold and jewels, they were either placed in cupboards for the use of the monks, sold to great people, who liked to possess books, or given to the universities or to other monasteries or churches. You can fancy the cloister at Durham when it was alive with workers, the copyists in their carols by the windows, which after the fourteenth century were glazed, and other monks seated on mats spread on the stone bench against the inner wall, studying books, which they took, as they required them, from cupboards on the wall. The monastic cloister had four sides, which were called walks or alleys, each walk being presided over by a warden, who kept silence and good order. In the western alley was the master of the novices, with his young charges before him seated in the window seats and learning to sing the Psalms. You may ask what books were copied by the monks. To get an answer to this question, we must call to mind that one result of the overturning of Roman civilization in Western Europe by the Goths and Vandals was, that vast numbers of manuscripts, or written copies of the works of the old Greek and Roman writers, were destroyed, such of them as were saved being mostly in monasteries and churches. Naturally, too, the monks had manuscripts of Bibles, service-books, the writings of the great doctors or

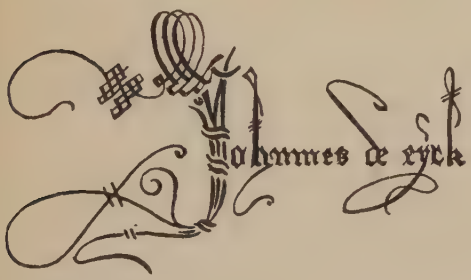
teachers of the Church, and commentaries upon them all. Manuscripts such as these, then, were the books which the monks copied.

6th Century.



10th Century.

14th Century.



15th Century.

Specimens of Ancient Writing

By these means a monastery was made to serve, among other useful purposes, the same end as a printing and publishing office does with us to-day. Here is a list of a few writers (among some hundreds) whose books were

to be found in the Abbey of Durham in the early part of the twelfth century:—

Alcuin	St. Gregory	Prosper
St. Ambrose	Horace	Priscian
St. Anselm	Homer	Peter Lombard
St. Augustine	Juvenal	Plato
Venerable Bede	Josephus	Quintilian
St. Cyprian	Lucan	Terence
Boethius	Ovid	Cicero
Aesop	Prudentius	Virgil
Galen		

Besides, there were many Bibles, Gospel books, missals, and other Church service-books, which are set out in the catalogue of the library, as it existed in the days of Bishop de St. Carileph, which is preserved in the Chapter Library at Durham.

Good Bishop Richard made it his business, whenever he went to foreign countries, to seek out and buy all manuscripts of Bibles and of writings of the great Christian and heathen writers that he could discover, so that Durham copyists should not fail of material for work. He tells us in a book which he wrote about the love of books, to which he gave a Greek title, *Philobiblon*, that wherever he went, whether on embassies for his king to foreign countries, to monasteries, or to country rectories, he was on the look out for books, especially old ones, which he would eagerly buy. This love of his for books being so well known, it was said that any one could more easily obtain a favour from him by gifts of books than in any other way.

The *Philobiblon* is worth remembering about, because, for one thing, it was written to accompany a gift of many precious volumes which Bishop Richard made to Durham Hall at Oxford (now Trinity College), to assist students there in their studies, and in the last chapter of his book he gave careful directions for the

management of the library at Durham Hall, and advice about the treatment and handling of books, how that they should be opened and closed with proper care, and put back in their places in the library. Bishop Richard was very severe upon youths who used books badly, and he speaks of one whom he had seen reading at meal times—which is bad, both for the book and the reader's health—who "was not ashamed to eat fruit and cheese over an open book, or to transfer his empty cup from side to side, so that it dripped on the leaves". Another also he saw, reclining his elbow on a volume, turning down the leaves, and putting bits of straw to denote the places he was reading, also stuffing the book with leaves and flowers, so polluting it with dust and grit.

When Richard de Bury went in 1331 to Avignon on embassy to the Pope, he met the poet Petrarch, who was also a great lover of books and a diligent collector of manuscripts. Petrarch was delighted to meet so famous a man and scholar as de Bury, and he asked him many questions about the geography of the northern parts of Europe, especially as to where the island called by ancient writers Thule was situated. Richard did not exactly know, but he promised on his return home to make inquiries on that point. Do *you* know where Thule is?

People who, like Bishop Richard and other churchmen in England, and Petrarch in Italy and France, collected ancient manuscripts and had them copied, were doing most valuable work, so valuable that we cannot appreciate it too highly.

Think then, with thankfulness and admiration, of Bishop Richard, Petrarch the poet, and other learned men who, in the Middle Ages, collected old manuscripts, and of the patient monks who copied them out, and also (though the copyist did not think of that) preserved them until the advent of the printing press should

spread them far and wide among people, and in numbers of which old book lovers never dreamed.

Among the many benefits for which scholars are indebted to Bishop Richard are to be counted Hebrew and Greek grammars, for it was from his great collection of manuscripts that the first grammar books of the Hebrew and Greek languages were compiled, and it is upon these books that all modern Hebrew and Greek grammars are based.

From 1334 to 1338 there was war again between England and Scotland, which arose out of the English king's efforts to maintain Edward Balliol on his throne against the wishes of his subjects, but in this war Durham men took no part, and the Palatinate enjoyed peace until the Battle of Nevill's Cross, about which we shall very soon read.

Apart from his regard for literature, Bishop Richard is best remembered in the Palatinate for his unbounded generosity. The great state which he maintained as Prince Palatine was to him only an occasion for distributing alms. Always on his journeys from one manor house to another, he gave a certain sum to the poor. From Newcastle to Durham the amount was twelve marks, from Durham to Stockton eight marks, from Durham to Auckland five marks, and from Durham to Middleham one hundred shillings.

This good bishop died at Auckland Palace in April, 1345, having finished his book, *Philobiblon*, fourteen months earlier at the same place. He lies buried in the cathedral, in the south-east corner of the chapel of the Nine Altars, in front of the place where the altar of St. Andrew and St. Mary Magdalene stood until three hundred years ago.

Bishop Richard's example was never forgotten by the monks of Durham, so that they became celebrated for

the number and beauty of the books in their library, some few of which, having escaped the hands of the sixteenth-century destroyers, are now in the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

QUESTION

To what circumstances do we owe our knowledge of the writings of the ancient Greek and Roman authors?

CHAPTER XVI

TELLING HOW THAT IN BISHOP HATFIELD'S REIGN THE SCOTS CAME AGAIN, AND WERE DEFEATED AT NEVILL'S CROSS; LIKEWISE OF THE BLACK DEATH AND WHAT CAME OF IT

THE early years of Bishop Thomas Hatfield's reign were marked by two memorable events, the battle of Nevill's Cross and the visitation of the dreadful plague called the Black Death.

King Edward in 1346 was abroad fighting the French, having left the two great northern lords—Percy and Nevill—with the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Lincoln, to guard the realm. Good fortune had befallen the king, for he had routed the French at Crecy; whereupon King Philip, unable to resist the English by force of arms, instigated David of Scotland to invade England, and David, in an evil hour, listened to the French king's speech. Having got together at Perth a great army, he marched south, and, after taking Liddel Castle and putting its garrison to the sword, he sacked the Augustinian Abbey of Lanercost in Cumberland, the fourth time this house had been destroyed by the Scots. After this sacrilege David made for Hexham, where both the abbey and the town felt the full force of his fury. Thence by Corbridge and Haydon

Castle, both of which surrendered, the Scots came to Tyne Water. Here at Ryton, in the high woods above the river, they halted for the night, and well would it have been for them and for their king had they gone no farther. They were invading Durham, a place through good and ill fortune of wonder and mystery. King David slept, and in the dead of night he awoke and saw that he was not alone. By his bedside stood the Blessed Cuthbert, who bade him return to his own country in peace, or go forward to his own undoing. With morning light St. Cuthbert and his fateful speech seemed very far away, and poor King David, who prided himself on his freedom from superstition, laughed at the vision of the night, and, having crossed the Derwent and halted for a time at Ebchester, took the road towards Durham City. At Bearpark, some two miles short of the city, he pitched his camp, and thence his men, as was their wont, went forth burning and stealing.

The Lords Warden of England had not been idle, for in Auckland Park was an English army, 18,000 strong with plenty of good archers, under Henry Percy, Ralph Nevill, and Archbishop William of York. The first blood was drawn on October 16, when that gallant old Scotchman, Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, having got far west, beyond Sunderland Bridge, in search of forage, came suddenly upon a body of English horsemen reconnoitring from Merrington. A sharp fight ensued, and the Scots retired with a loss of 300 men. The next day, October 17, 1346, was to be a turning-point in the life of David Bruce. The English army, with the object of getting between the Scots and Durham City, moved to the north-east, while David made the city his objective. On the Red Hills, hard by the cross roads, where for centuries had stood an ancient cross, the armies met, and when the evening sun lit up

Bishop Hatfield's Tomb, Durham Cathedral

the wooded river banks, all afire with the red and gold of autumn, 1,500 Scottish soldiers, with the flower of the Scottish nobility, lay dead on the field; their king, sorely wounded, was a prisoner; and the Black Rood of Scotland, so dearly prized by Scottish hearts, was in English hands.

Great was the joy in Durham City when William the Archbishop, having with him the Prior of Durham (who all that day had held aloft the sacred banner of St. Cuthbert on Maiden Castle), in company with the Lords Nevill and Percy, and all the winners of that day's victory, passed in long procession to St. Cuthbert's Shrine, where the Black Rood of Scotland was solemnly offered to God, and all gave thanks to Him for His mercy in staying that day the steps of the destroyer.

Did David, as he entered Ogle Castle that night, after being hurried twenty miles across country on horseback, a wounded man, faint with loss of blood, think of Ryton and the words of the Blessed Cuthbert? Ogle Castle was only the beginning of eleven years' imprisonment on English soil, and even when at last this poor king was restored to his crown, it was only to live for a few years a selfish and unhappy life, and to die unloved and unmourned.

When the Prior of Durham, after his laborious day, at last found a quiet hour, he wrote a letter in Latin (all boys and girls were taught Latin in those days; perhaps they will be again, for it is the only language which is understood all over the world) to Bishop Thomas, who was at Calais, with the story of the battle.

In honour of God, and in remembrance of this great victory, Ralph Nevill set up, where we see the restored remnant of Nevill's Cross, a stone column of eight sides, raised on seven steps, having a sculpture of the Crucifixion, with Mary and John on the top, and the holy

Evangelists standing round the base. The saltire and the bull's head of Nevill were cut on the sides of the column, and all was fairly painted and gilt as the good custom then was. Also as a further memorial, on the spot where the prior and monks had prayed for victory with the holy relic of St. Cuthbert borne high above their heads, was placed a cross of wood two yards high, finely carved, and whenever a Durham monk passed that way he made his prayer and thanksgiving for God's mercy. Both these crosses were thrown down and defaced in the sixteenth century by ill-taught and thoughtless people.

To further commemorate the victory at Nevill's Cross, a great screen, fashioned of stone from Dorsetshire, cunningly carved, with a great statue of Our Lady in the middle and figures of St. Cuthbert and St. Oswald on either side, and more than a hundred other statues, the whole brightly painted and gilt, was set up behind the high altar, and there you may see it to-day, though shorn of much of its first magnificence. Seven masons were occupied for twelve months in carving this glorious work, the cost of which was borne in greater part by John Nevill, son of Lord Ralph, commander of Durham men at the battle of Nevill's Cross.

A word about the banner of St. Cuthbert, of which we have more than once spoken. It was made of costly silk, woven with a diapered pattern, and had the corporal, a cloth of pure white linen, which St. Cuthbert had been wont to use at Mass, sewn on to its centre. In Chapter XIX is a drawing which may serve to give you some idea of St. Cuthbert's banner, although neither it nor the drawing of the other banner are intended to be exact representations of the originals.

When Chaucer, writing about 1386 the Prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*, wanted to convey an idea of the fear entertained by certain people for the Reeve, he could find

no stronger expression than that "they were afraid of him as of the dethe". The reference is to the Black Death, that terrible plague from the Far East, which first appeared in Europe at the Island of Cyprus in 1347, and rapidly spread northward and westward, until in August, 1348, it appeared on the Dorsetshire coast, and made its way slowly but surely over all England and Scotland. No part of the country escaped its ravages, men were taken ill and in a few hours were dead. All classes were attacked, a king's daughter, three Archbishops of Canterbury, priests, nobles, gentle and simple, all went down before that dread pestilence, so that when the destroying hand was stayed it was estimated that one-third of the people had died of its ravages. This dread visitation so impressed itself upon the memory of men that for more than a century afterwards it was the fashion to fix the date of an event by the time that it occurred after the Black Death. In the Palatinate the plague raged as fearfully as in other parts, the eastern half of the county being especially devastated, and provisions therein becoming so scarce that the folk there were constrained to buy of the western dalesmen, who, fearing contact with their eastern neighbours, placed provisions in heaps on the ground, and retired to a distance while the purchasers took the goods and put money in exchange. In the rural districts the labourers died so rapidly that there were few, or in some places none, to till the fields and do the ordinary work of the manor farms. The result was that, when the plague was over, the lords of manors, and those who held land under them, had to pay to the few labourers who were left much higher wages than had ever been paid before.

To understand the full effect of this, you ought to know that in ancient times much of the work of the manor farms was done by men who were, in the eye of

the law, villans or serfs, but who could not be turned off the land they occupied so long as they performed their share of the work upon the manor farm. Gradually their position improved to such an extent that by the beginning of Edward II's reign their work had become certain, regular, and well-defined, such as working so many days in harvest, or ploughing so many acres of land, for their lord. For some time before the Black Death appeared, a custom had arisen under which these labour-services were changed for money payments, and one effect of the plague was to make this custom more widely spread and almost to do away with the old labour-services. The result to the lords of manors was disastrous, for while they received from their villan tenants only the customary money rents, they had to pay very much higher wages to the labourers than had been usual when the money rents were fixed.

It can thus easily be seen that a farm labourer in England was very much better off after the Black Death than in earlier times, and we find that this was the case in Durham as in other counties, although an Act of Parliament was passed which forbade employers to pay, or labourers to receive, wages at a higher rate than the ancient one. This Act, however, it was found impossible to enforce anywhere, and, as far as Durham was concerned, it had no effect, because English Acts of Parliament did not in a general way affect the Palatinate.

Another effect of the scarcity of labourers consequent upon the Black Death was that many landholders took to cattle and sheep breeding, because they require fewer men than agriculture.

Among Bishop Thomas's work in Durham, besides much painting and decoration of the cathedral, the chief is the great hall of the castle, now the University dining-hall. This hall, as built by Bishop Thomas, was nearly as

large again as it is now, and at the south end was a gallery for minstrels, a very usual addition to halls of this kind. Round the walls are hung some of the weapons used by Durham men in old days.

Although Bishop Thomas held the high office of king's chancellor and was, in other ways, a great man in England, he was often absent from Durham, and he did not do so much for his people as some of the other bishops. He died in 1381, and you may see his very beautiful tomb, which was built also to serve as the bishop's throne, in the choir of the cathedral. The gold and colour with which it was enriched has vanished except for slight traces. The bishop's recumbent figure is finely cut, and shows very clearly the vestments usually worn by bishops.

Question and Suggestion

1. What effect did the Black Death have on agriculture?
2. Mark, on a map, the Scots' line of march from Perth to Nevill's Cross.

CHAPTER XVII

Of the Building of Churches and Bridges by Bishop Skirlawe, and how Cardinal Langley Reigned Thirty-one Years, and how he helped to make Peace with Scotland in the days of King Henry V

Walter Skirlawe, who ascended the throne of Durham in 1388, was remarkable for his untiring zeal in setting up useful buildings and works for the public good, and in helping Durham men to get learning for their children.

At his Palace of Auckland he did much decorative work, and he also built the park gateway. All Bishop Walter's work at the palace, however, was destroyed in the time of the Commonwealth by Sir Arthur Haselrigge,

the grantee of the palace and park from the Long Parliament.

To the cathedral cloisters, of which we have already spoken, Bishop Skirlawe contributed the windows, the ceiling, and most of the ornamental work. All these are in the perpendicular style of architecture, so called because the main lines of its tracery are straight instead of flowing, as in the styles which preceded it. The three drawings of windows show the distinction.

Turning to the parish churches, Bishop Walter built,

Styles of Window Tracery

in perpendicular style, the tower of Howden Church, which, like Houghton Church tower, was intended to be used for defensive purposes when need arose.

Perhaps the most useful of Bishop Walter's gifts to the principality were the bridges which he built. Besides less important bridges we may notice two over the Wear, one at Shincliffe, and the other, the two-arched bridge, at Bishop's Auckland. Over the Tees, too, Bishop Walter built a bridge of five arches at Yarm. Before this bridge was built there was no bridge across the Tees between Croft Bridge and the sea. A glance at the map will show

Arms of Cardinal Langley

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how very inconvenient to Stockton people and the men of the north-west parts of Yorkshire that must have been.

A century and a half before Bishop Walter's time, a lover of learning, one William of Durham, had paid 310 marks to the University of Oxford that they might, out of the yearly income to arise therefrom, maintain ten or more Masters of Arts to study theology at the University. In 1253 a house was built for these Oxford students, and was called for one hundred years William of Durham's Hall. In time, however, as it was the first hall acquired by the University, it got to be called University Hall, and afterwards University College, as it is called to this day. Bishop Walter had belonged to University College, and in after days, remembering his old college, he endowed it with three scholarships, whereby poor scholars of the north country might be helped to get a university education. In the Middle Ages, and even as late as the seventeenth century, poor boys who had real love for learning had no great difficulty in going to the universities to finish their studies. The strolling scholar, making his way from far-away parts of England to Oxford or Cambridge, was a recognized feature of social life in those days, and every one was glad to give him a night's lodging or a meal. Often he would requite the charity with a song or a tale out of old books, or maybe an epitaph for a newly-made grave. As a guarantee of good faith, these wandering scholars were provided with licences under a university seal, and, so provided, they were allowed to beg their way. The parish books of our cities and boroughs contain many an entry of help given to poor scholars, and even as late as 1630 we find "XII^{d} given to a poor Scholler" at Darlington.

In the first year of Bishop Walter's reign, the famous battle of Otterburn was fought. It happened that a

raiding party of Scots under James, Earl of Douglas, had got south as far as the gates of Newcastle, where, in the castle itself, was Henry Percy, called "Hotspur", son of the Earl of Northumberland, with many men. In the course of a skirmish the Scots captured one of Hotspur's pennons, and shortly after turned their steps towards home. Near Otterburn, however, they stopped to attack a castle near by, and so enabled Hotspur and his men to overtake them. A sharply contested battle followed, in which neither party can with certainty be said to have been victorious, but each side lost its leader, for Douglas was killed and Percy was taken prisoner, as the old ballad-writer tells us:—

> "Thys fraye bygan at Otterborne,
> Bytwene the nyghte and the day:
> Ther the Dowglas lost hys lyfe,
> And the Percy was lede awaye".

Towards the end of the fight, when the dusk of evening had set in, it is said that Bishop Walter arrived on the scene at the head of a band of his "halywercfolc" and promptly joined in the fight, but that unfortunately the Durham men, in the darkness and confusion, mistook their friends for the Scots, and did much damage before their mistake was found out.

Bishop Walter, shortly before his death in 1405, founded chantries both in York Cathedral and Durham. This means that he gave lands, the yearly rents of which should for ever be applied to the maintenance of priests who should daily chant or sing Mass with the object of doing good to his soul. In the sixteenth century Parliament decreed that no more chantries should be founded, and the many hundreds that were in existence were given to the then king Henry VIII, and by him were mostly wasted on unworthy favourites. Thus great sums

of money were thrown away, and the charitable intentions of their donors were frustrated.

Bishop Walter also provided for the maintenance of several poor people, who in after years were called his bedesmen, and were accustomed to say prayers for the dead bishop's weal at his grave in the Chapel of the Nine Altars. You may still see the bench on which these good people were wont to rest themselves between prayers.

Thomas Langley, who for his great services to religion was made one of the Roman cardinals, was a notable man in the days of King Henry V, and his reign at Durham lasted for thirty-one years. You may like to know what a cardinal is. At Rome there is a college consisting of six bishops, fifty priests, and fourteen deacons, which is called the College of Cardinals, and is the great council which advises and helps the Pope to rule the Church. The word cardinal is derived from a Latin word *cardo,* a hinge, and the Roman cardinals were so called in very early times, because they were the principal clergy in the city of Rome and its suburbs, upon whom the management of Church affairs depended, in the same way as a door depends upon the hinges on which it turns. For many centuries past the College of Cardinals has been made up partly of clergy living at Rome, and partly of those living in other countries, so that there are cardinals of all nationalities.

In 1420, after the war with France had been going on for a long time, and both nations were tired out with fighting, the French especially, because they were fighting among themselves as well as with the English, ambassadors on both sides were appointed to arrange terms of peace. Bishop Thomas Langley was one of the English ambassadors, and he is said to have been largely instrumental in making the treaty which followed, the Treaty

of Troyes, under which the crowns of England and France were to have been united. Perhaps this union might have come about had not King Henry died two years after the treaty had been made. Then the war began again, the maid Joanne of Arc, whose story you know, appeared, and in the end the English were expelled from France.

After the Treaty of Troyes Bishop Thomas returned to Durham, where he busied himself in building works at the cathedral. The Galilee Chapel unhappily he did not improve, for he took away the doorway in the north wall, which had been the original entrance to the chapel from the city, and inserted the present windows instead. This again shows how we may be mistaken if we guess the date of the erection of an ancient building by the style of its windows. Another thing Bishop Thomas did was to add the stone shafts to the original pilasters supporting the Norman arches in the Galilee Chapel. He thought, we may suppose, that two were not sufficient to carry the weight of the arches. Maybe this was a mistaken idea.

The cloisters too received additions from Bishop Thomas. He built a conduit, or as we should say to-day, a fountain, in the centre of the Garth, that is, the square enclosed by the four sides of the cloisters. This was the principal place where water could be drawn for the use of the monastery. In those days water was not generally laid on to houses, but it had to be fetched from the conduits, of which there were several in most cities and towns. Great houses such as monasteries had water supplies of their own, which were brought from a spring to the central conduit, which was often in the cloisters, as at Durham. These conduits were usually very richly sculptured and coloured, and the one set up by Bishop Thomas in Durham cloisters was no exception to the rule. It was eight-sided, and afforded shelter to those

who drew water. The style was highly ornate, of the perpendicular period, its rich sculpture meeting in a central pinnacle crowned with a cross.

Four years after Bishop Thomas had gone on embassy to France, the young King James of Scotland, who had been kept a prisoner in England since his boyhood, though he had been well taught and cared for, was allowed to return to his country, having in the previous year married Joan Beaufort, the great-grand-daughter of King Edward III, and niece of Cardinal Beaufort. This marriage, which was made at the great church of the Austin Canons hard by London Bridge, was a true love match, and James and Joan were a very happy pair. It was in honour of his so fair lady Joan that James wrote his poem called *The King's Quhair* (i.e. Book), in which he tells us that he first saw his bride-elect in the garden of his prison, the Tower of London. Speaking of this garden, he says:—

"Now was there made, fast by the Toures wall,
A garden fair, and in the corners set
Ane herber greene, with wandes long and small
Railed about, and so with trëes set,
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet".

And as it seemed to him, so joyous was the place,

"... On the smale greene twistes sate
The little sweete nightingale, and sung
So loud and clear the hymnes consecrate
Of loves use.
Sing with us", they seemed to him to say, "away!
Winter, away!
Come, summer, come, the sweet season and sun".

In the spring of 1424, when the winter had gone, and the roads had become dry and easy for travelling, James and Joan went north to their coronation at Scone, and on their way were entertained for a month at Durham

by Bishop Thomas, who had been one of the king's commissioners to arrange for James's release. Joyous was the feasting in the castle hall, then vast and spacious, as built by Bishop Hatfield, with its great gallery for the minstrels, and merry were the tournaments and jousts on the castle green. That short month of merry-making was to be the prelude to a period of good laws justly enforced for Scottish men, which happy time was to have a mournful end, the king's murder at Perth on the Christ Child's Day in 1437.

In that same year died Bishop Thomas Langley, and was buried with his brethren in the Chapel of the Nine Altars under a flat stone. None of the old Bishops of Durham, except Bishop Hatfield, princes though they were, both spiritual and temporal, were buried under costly monuments, but under flat stones with inlaid brasses. Indeed Bishop Hatfield's monument can hardly be considered an exception, because it was built to serve as the bishop's throne as well as the sepulchre of its builder.

Suggestions

1. Get from the Public Library a first book on Heraldry, and learn how to make out the colours of coats-of-arms from their shading. When you can do this, make outline drawings, without shading, of the shields in this book, leaving out the helmets and other things, and paint them in their correct colours.

2. Find in one of the old churches near your school a window in the perpendicular style, and draw it.

3. Read "The Battle of Otterbourne" in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.

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CHAPTER XVIII

Of the Scots and Bishop Fox, and how he made a Marriage between King James of Scotland and Princess Margaret

Passing over the reigns of Bishop Robert Nevill, of whom we shall read in Chapter XXVI; of Bishop Booth, whose reign is chiefly remarkable for the large forfeitures of lands within the Palatinate, which came to him after the defeat of the Lancastrians at Barnet Fight; and of Bishop Sherwood, in whose days there was a rising by Durham men against an illegal attempt by Henry VII to make them pay a tax to him (for they could be taxed only by their own prince), we come to the year 1494, when Bishop Richard Fox ascended the throne of Durham.

During the whole of Bishop Richard's short reign of seven years at Durham, the king of England was Henry VII, a prince who earnestly desired to bring about friendly relations between England and Scotland. Actuated by such views, he sent Bishop Richard on an embassy to the King of Scots, James IV, in the hope that a way might be found to end the state of war which, except for occasional truces, had subsisted so long between the two countries. One of the proposed terms of peace was that James should marry King Henry's daughter, Margaret. Unhappily, this embassy failed, and the bishop returned to Durham.

Very soon the Scots were again on the war-path, and this time they came not only on foraging bent, but to help the Duke of York, or Perkin Warbeck, whichever he really was, to oust King Henry from his throne. They

Arms of Bishop Fox

besieged Norham Castle, which would probably have fallen had not Bishop Richard come up from the south with his Durham men and defeated the besiegers.

The Scots returned home, King James gave up the Pretender's cause, and the truce was renewed for seven years. In a little time war would again have broken out but for Bishop Richard's just dealing and skill. In the course of a quarrel between certain Scots and English soldiers at Norham Castle, some of the Scots were killed. King James was at Melrose Abbey, twenty-five miles up the Tweed from Norham, and the bishop was at Durham, sixty-eight miles to the south. War was imminent, but Bishop Richard, as soon as he heard the bad news from Norham, betook him to Melrose, and offered to make reparation for the killing of the Scots. King James was struck with Bishop Richard's fairness, and the two of them, bishop and king, fell to friendly talk about the bad old Border customs; how that men, on both sides, instead of working at husbandry and crafts by day and sleeping by night, did little or no work under the sun, and at moon-rise would don their steel jacks and caps, and by lonely and little-trod mountain pass and goblin-haunted marsh would make their way across the border and harry their neighbours' lands; and at day dawn they would return, driving before them cattle they had not bred, and carrying grain they had not raised; how that the despoiled owners of these things would pursue, and at times overtake the raiders, and blood would be spilt, wives would be made widows, and little children would not any more hear their father's voice, or mayhap their big brother's, because father or brother lay dead in the wild, killed in a base quarrel about beeves or bread-stuff, killed in his sins without time for sorrow or chance of absolution from guilt; how, too, that the blood-fellows of the dead men would bind themselves by dreadful oaths to avenge them,

and so more blood-letting, harrying and stealing, would go on until, to such a pass had things got, Border folk had come to deem no life better or more pleasing to God than that of the robber and slayer of his fellows; and how those great men who held commissions from their kings on both sides of the Border to maintain the peace did not keep it themselves, but were rather letters of good neighbourhood and encouragers of those who despised good work and lived by robbery.

For these things Scotland's king and Durham's clerk-prince would, were it possible, find a remedy, and the king listened to the bishop's speech, and bethought him how the laws might be strengthened, so that these evils should cease.

Another evil there was: the Border folk had come to care little for religion, most of the churches had been burnt or were ruinous, and even the monasteries at times were not spared, though they, indeed, came to be rebuilt. On the Scots' side of the Border the only religion the people got was from visits, made, as often as might be, by the Fathers of Melrose, who went through the Borderland baptizing the children, making man and maid one in holy marriage (so that no earthly power could ever separate them), conveying pardon to those who said they were sorry for their sins, and who really meant it, and giving such help to dying folk as Holy Church can give. In parts of the English border-land, especially in Redesdale and Tynedale, people were even worse off, because many of the clergy there were priests who had been suspended for misconduct from their duties, and others there were who were not clergymen at all, but pretenders who brought scandal upon religion by their bad lives. For this difficulty about religion there seemed to the king to be small remedy at that time for the Scottish borderers, while as to the English side Bishop Richard, when he got back to

Durham, took pen and wrote a fatherly letter to his archdeacons and other Church officers in Northumberland: for you must know that Northumberland, as well as Durham, was under the bishop's care as spiritual ruler, although his power as a temporal prince was only over Durham and the places belonging to it.

In this letter Bishop Richard wrote very strongly about all these bad Border customs and lawless cleries, and he directed his officials to give all robbers and encouragers of robbery, whoever they might be, not excepting any, even if they should be king's officers, his pastoral advice to restore what they had stolen, to make reparation for other wrong they had done, and to repent of their evil ways. If they followed this good advice all would be well with them, but if not they were to be cut off from Christian fellowship as long as they remained obstinate. That good came of this letter we know, because, when Bishop Richard was at Norham Castle in September, 1498, he restored to Christian fellowship a number of English borderers who had incurred the penalties prescribed by his letter, upon their repenting and making restitution to those whom they had injured, but he imposed a penance upon them which, if performed, would keep them quiet for the future. They were no longer to wear steel coats or head-pieces, and the horses they rode were to be poor nags, not worth more than six shillings and eightpence. Also they were to lay aside, before entering any church or cemetery, every weapon longer than a man's fore-arm, and, to prevent quarrels, they were not to speak, while there, to any one other than the priest belonging to the church.

Border troubles were not altogether cured by the talk at Melrose, but before King James had done with the bishop he bethought him again of the beauty and grace of the Princess Margaret of England, and he held speech

about whether she would marry him and become Queen of Scotland.

In good time after, this marriage came about, and in summer time, 1502, the old hall of Durham Castle was again alive with the joy which comes of marriage-tidings, and its roof echoed the love-lays of the minstrels, perched aloft in their gallery above the guests who feasted below. England's rose, the fair Margaret, was there, on her way to a new home in the north, and with her a goodly throng, foremost being the brave and courtly Thomas, Earl of Surrey, whose duty it was to conduct her scatheless to Scotland's king.

This marriage was the first link in a chain of events, of which the most important were the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in 1603 and the union of their Parliaments in 1707, which for ever put an end to, and made as a tale that had been told, the bad customs and evil living which had, since Roman times in Britain, spoiled and embittered the lives of Border folk.

So we may truly think that the good peace which at last came to the Borderland was due, in no small measure, to Bishop Richard Fox and his talk with Scotland's king. Of Bishop Fox himself we must close the story, because the last twenty-seven years of his life, which were full of good works, among them the founding of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, were spent at Winchester, whither he was translated in 1501, and where, in a chantry chapel in the cathedral, he lies buried.

Suggestion

Write a short description of Border life before the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, bringing out the differences between the Scottish borderers, the men of Tynedale and Redesdale, and the Durham men in the matter of material wealth and general prosperity.

CHAPTER XIX

How the Bishop's Men fought in Front at Flodden Field, and how they made Pilgrimage in Defence of their Religion in the Days of King Henry VIII

The good peace which had come to Durham and the other northern counties, after the talk at Melrose, did not long outlast the life of King Henry VII, who did not allow petty jealousies to bring about war. Henry VIII, however, was of a different character, and as proud and touchy as the Scottish king.

Between these two fiery spirits it was not long before a pretext for war arose. Henry had gone to France with an army and besieged Terouenne. James, as France's ancient ally, intervened, and in June, 1513, sent a herald to Henry with a message, demanding that he should give up his aggressive attitude towards France. It would seem that James's object was war in any event, for without awaiting his herald's return, he invaded England and seized several of the Border strongholds, among them the bishop's castle of Norham.

The Scottish host, instead of pushing south into Durham, delayed their march, which gave time for the men of the northern counties to array themselves.

The beacon fires blazed up into the night from every hill in the bishopric. From Kilhope Law in the west to Wardon Law in the east, and from Gateshead Church tower to Barnard Castle, every tower and height passed on the warning signal.

At Durham was the king's lieutenant-general of the northern counties, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and to him came the Durham men, under Sir William Bulmer.

After Holy Mass in the cathedral, St. Cuthbert's banner, never carried in vain against a foe or displayed in an unjust cause, was taken from its resting-place by his shrine, unfurled in the market-place and borne northward along the great road through Newcastle and Morpeth to Alnwick, telling all bishop's men that holy work, indeed, was to be done, if they would keep the fair fields of England free from the devastating step of the northern foe. At Alnwick, Earl Thomas met his son the admiral with the men of Northumberland, and together they went north to intercept the Scots.

On the hill of Flodden, west of the river Till, the Scottish army was encamped, when on September 9 the English came to the lower ground on the eastern side of the river. After an unsuccessful attempt to induce the Scots to descend into the plain, the English force made a détour to the north-east, crossed the Till near Twizel Castle, and got between the Scots and their homeland. When the Scots saw what had been done, they burned their tents, arrayed their forces, and marched to meet the English. Notice with what haste and imprudence the Scots left their point of vantage on the high ground when they found that their way home was barred. Liability to panic has always been a marked characteristic of Scottish armies which have invaded England, and, even as late as the last Jacobite Rising in 1745, it was one of the chief difficulties with which Prince Charles Edward and his officers had to contend, and largely influenced his ultimate decision to abandon his march on London.

The story of the fight at Flodden field has been told by many a good tale-teller, and we will not tell it again; but Durham men will not forget that in this, the last great battle fought in the Border wars, their fathers fought in front directly opposed to Scotland's king, and before his pride and confidence displayed that banner,

which then, for the last time in the open field, was to teach the lesson, as it was taught at Nevill's Cross to David, that perseverance in known wrong-doing brings its doom along with it, so that whoso fights against St. Cuthbert fights against right, and cannot prevail.

Flodden fight brought sorrow to many a Scottish home, for, when it was over, 10,000 Scots lay dead on the field, among them King James himself, with two bishops, two mitred abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, and gentlemen of name beyond the counting. This calamity came about, not from the action of the Scottish people, but from the pride of their king, who had forgotten his talk at Melrose with Durham's bishop years before, and refused to listen to his English wife when she tried to dissuade him from invading England.

We come now to a time of great change in all things, in Durham as in the rest of England. From the days of the Apostles to the reign of Henry VIII, there had been only one form of the Christian religion in England and in the rest of the western world, that which was taught by missionaries sent from Rome and by teachers taught by them, and the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, was the supreme Head on earth of the Church in England as elsewhere.

Under this faith, and believing that no change in religion would ever be made, Durham men, as Christians all over the world had done, and are still doing, had, at great cost, and as works of love, built St. Cuthbert's Cathedral on Dunholme, collegiate churches like Lanchester, Darlington, and Chester-le-Street, and numbers of parish churches, some very magnificent, such as Ryton, Merrington, and Houghton-le-Spring. Hospitals and schools, monasteries and convents, too, they had set up at Durham, Gateshead, Jarrow, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, Finchale, and other places. All these—cathedral, churches,

1. Banner of the Five Wounds
2. Banner of St. Cuthbert

hospitals, and convents—the men of the bishopric had endowed with lands and goods, so that the Christian religion, as it had been taught to them, might be maintained for all time within the Palatinate.

A small thing was the immediate cause of this condition of things being done away. King Henry unhappily wanted to put away his lawful wife, Queen Catherine, and to marry another woman; and, because the Pope would not give him leave to do this, he forced the clergy, assembled in their Parliament or Convocation as it was called, to acknowledge him as "Supreme Head of the Church and clergy", instead of the Pope, although the clergy did add the words, "so far as the law of Christ will allow", but these words the king took no notice of. Afterwards, in 1534, Henry compelled Parliament, first, to pass an Act abolishing the Pope's spiritual authority in England, and next year another Act giving the king the title of "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England".

After this time, and as long as these laws should remain in force, there was nothing to prevent English Christianity from becoming different from the religion held by the nations that still acknowledge the Pope's supremacy, and indeed many people thought that they might believe anything they liked, which led to so much quarrelling all over the country that King Henry tried, but in vain, to bring his people to some kind of unity by writing books and letters for their instruction in religion, and by directing, in a Royal Proclamation, that the doctrine of the King's supremacy over the Church and other matters newly introduced should be often preached to the people and taught even to little children. He could not, however, stay the evil which he himself had started, and differences of opinion in religion have continually increased since his time.

Then King Henry did another thing. He sent commissioners to all the monasteries to inquire into their condition, and these commissioners, instead of telling the truth, which was that the monks and nuns were good folk (with faults, of course, like other people), living on the whole industrious and simple lives, and doing good work among the poor and ailing—instead of saying this, these commissioners made up wicked and slanderous tales about the religious. This gave the king the opportunity he wanted, namely, to get Parliament to abolish the monasteries and to give their lands and goods to him; and so, between 1536 and 1539, Acts were passed, under which all religious houses with their lands and goods came into the king's hands.

Before the dissolution of the monasteries there was much talk about founding bishoprics and colleges and such like, with the property of the religious houses; but when the king had got possession of them very little found its way to any good work. Lands, goods, and money, they were mostly dissipated in extravagant living by the king and his courtiers. Fortunately, in Durham most of the religious houses were branches (cells, as they were called) of the great Benedictine Monastery of Durham, and so their property did not go entirely in this bad way, but a great part of it passed to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, to whom the care of the cathedral and arrangement of the services were thenceforth committed, and to whom the lands of the old monastery and its cells were given.

These proceedings about religion were displeasing to most Englishmen, and in different parts of the country risings were made against them. The most important of these rebellions was the "Pilgrimage of Grace" in 1536, made, as the men of the north country said, "for the love of God, for the restoring of faith, and for the restitution of the Church". A gentleman of Yorkshire, Robert Aske,

started this rising, and the men of Durham sent the beacon fires again from hill to hill, and soon in goodly array they were marching south under their Ward Captains, and led by Sir George Lumley and Sir John Bulmer, upon the good town of Doncaster. In their company were the Northumberland folk, led by Sir Thomas Percy, and the men of Yorkshire under Master Aske, who also had with him the Archbishop of York, Lord Darcy, and Lord Scroop of Bolton. Priests bearing crosses led the way, followed by banners worked in silk

Arms of Sir John Bulmer

and gold, with pictures of Our Lady and the Saints; while conspicuous among them all was the banner showing forth Our Lord on the Cross pierced with the five wounds made by the nails and the lance, and the Chalice of His Blood.

These men were all very much in earnest, for they loved the old religion, and were willing to risk their lives, lands, and goods to keep it.

The River Don was in flood, so they could not pass by the ford; while the king's general, the Duke of

Arms of Bishop Tunstall

Norfolk, held the bridge. This gave an opportunity for parleying, and after much sending of heralds to and fro, and messengers to the king, it was arranged that a great talk should take place in Doncaster between the leaders of the northern men and the king's representatives. This talk came about, and as the king promised that a general pardon should be given to all, and that a Parliament should sit in the north to consider and remedy the grievances alleged by those who had gone on that pilgrimage, all departed to their homes in peace.

When, however, the king had got over this trouble he did not keep his promise about the Parliament in the north, and nothing was done to satisfy the demands made at Doncaster. The consequence was that the northern people still harboured their grievances.

While these things were going on, the throne of Durham was occupied by a good man, Cuthbert Tunstall, who was withal without the qualities which make a leader of men. He thought that if the king's changes in religion were for the sake of peace accepted for the time, opportunities would come afterwards for setting things right again; and also, he thought that some of the changes might be looked upon in a different sense from that meant by the king. For instance, he at first accepted the king's headship of the Church, persuading himself that it did not imply a right to interfere in religious teaching. Bishop Cuthbert, however, saw at last, as we shall read, reasons for changing his views on this subject. He also tried, by dexterous argument, to persuade Queen Catherine to concur in the decree of divorce pronounced against her by Archbishop Cranmer and to forgo the title of Queen.

Questions and Suggestions

1. What were the principal duties of heralds in the Middle Ages?

Find out from any book on Heraldry the titles of the present-day English heralds, and say as much as you can about the College of Arms, its origin, and so forth.

2. Make copies of all the ancient shields of arms in the windows and on the monuments in the nearest old church, indicating the colours by proper shading.

3. Why did the persons to whom monastic buildings were given by the king, when the monks had been turned out, usually reduce these buildings to ruin?

CHAPTER XX

How King Henry took away the Powers of the Prince-Bishop, how they were in part Restored by Queen Mary, and how they remained until the Reign of King William IV

King Henry and his advisers bethought them how it might happen that the next time the northern men should rise Bishop Cuthbert might not be Prince in Durham, and that perchance a bishop of the old sort, like Anthony Beck, a man of war as well as of peace, might be on the throne, in which case his great powers as Prince Palatine might be used to support the rebellion.

Parliament, therefore, was prevailed upon in 1536 to pass an Act taking away from the bishop his power of pardoning treason and felony, and his right to appoint judges and justices of the peace; also the peace in Durham was to be kept in the king's name and not the bishop's, and the king's justices of assize were to have authority in the Palatinate. Thus the most important of the bishop's powers were taken away, although the nominal sovereignty of the Palatinate was left to him.

While King Henry lived Bishop Cuthbert was molested no further, and we find him busy in 1542, when the Scots were again unquiet, spending large sums in refortifying Norham Castle and other border defences, for Durham

was still England's first defence against the Scots. But when the child Edward VI came to the throne bad days for the Palatinate were soon to dawn. Bishop Cuthbert was dismissed from the king's council, and when John Dudley, son of the extortioner Edmund Dudley, who had got himself made Duke of Northumberland, rose to power, his avarice impelled him to covet the great possessions of the See of Durham. Charges of treason having been trumped up against the unoffending bishop, he was seized and cast into the Tower of London, and had it not been for the unusually spirited action of the House of Commons in refusing to pass a bill of attainder against him unless his accusers came before them, he would have lost his head. Another plan, which did not require the assent of Parliament, was then devised for ruining the bishop, and he was deprived of his bishopric and again sent to the Tower. At the same time a Bill passed the House of Commons for suppressing the Bishopric of Durham, and the unhappy boy-king was prevailed upon to appoint Northumberland steward of all the bishopric property. He had already got possession of Durham Place at Westminster, and here in May, 1553, his son Guildford was married to Lady Jane Grey. All seemed to be going well with Northumberland, and it looked as if success would attend his plan for seating his daughter-in-law Jane, instead of Princess Mary, on the throne, when it should fall vacant. Unexpectedly, however, and sooner than suited Northumberland, the young king died, Princess Mary became queen, and the sword of justice fell, not only on Northumberland, but also upon two of his children and the unoffending child-wife Jane; all were executed on Tower Hill. So Northumberland got no good from his meddling with St. Cuthbert's Patrimony.

At once Bishop Cuthbert was restored to his throne,

Barnard Castle

and all proceedings against his Palatinate rights taken in King Edward's reign were nullified by Act of Parliament.

But this poor bishop was not to die in peace, for when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne the national religion was again altered, and he was required to acknowledge the queen as head of the Church. By this time he had come to see how mistaken a policy compromise is when great questions of principle are involved, and that the higher wisdom for a statesman is to prefer his own fall from power to the least tampering with justice. Knowing therefore what was in store for him, he arranged the affairs of his principality, and prepared for his last journey to London, a graphic picture of which is given by a contemporary writer, who tells us that "on the 20th of June the old Bishop of Durham came riding on horseback to London, with about threescore horse". Soon he was required to make his choice, to hold fast by his own faith and lose his worldly goods or to turn traitor to it and lose his soul. Two things were asked of him: that he would join with Gilbert Bishop of Bath, David Bishop of Peterborough, Anthony Bishop of Llandaff and others, as directed by the Queen's Commission of the 9th of September, 1559, in consecrating Dr. Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury. He was also required to consecrate a bishop for the newly arranged Church, and to acknowledge the queen as head of the Church instead of the Pope. To both these demands he gave an unequivocal refusal, as the Bishops of Bath and Peterborough had also done. On the 29th of September, 1559, he was deprived of his bishopric, and for two months more he lived in a kind of imprisonment at Lambeth Palace. There he died, in his eighty-sixth year, and was buried in Lambeth Church, where you may see a tablet to his memory.

As to the temporal powers of the Bishops of Durham, they remained as restored by Queen Mary until 1836,

when, by Act of Parliament, all the Palatinate powers of the Prince-Bishops of Durham were transferred to the king and his successors, but were not abolished.

Question and Suggestion

1. What considerations actuated Henry VIII in taking away the most important of the bishop's Palatinate rights?
2. Describe the unhappy events which came about from the unprincipled ambition of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland.

CHAPTER XXI

Of the Rising in the North in the Days of Queen Elizabeth, and concerning Bishop Matthew and King James

Ten years after Bishop Cuthbert's death, King Henry VIII's neglect to keep his promises made at Doncaster bore fruit in a second rising in the north. Things had gone from bad to worse; not only were old grievances still unredressed, but all traces of the ancient religion had been done away. The altars had been thrown down, statues destroyed, and wall-paintings defaced. No longer might people hear Mass as of old, but instead they were forced, under severe penalties, to attend new and unaccustomed services. Besides this, even free speech was made a crime, for if a man ventured to speak openly against the new Prayer Book, which, in spite of the beauty of its language and the dignity of its diction, seemed to the men and women of those days strange and wanting in fervour in comparison with the old services and prayers to which English folk had so long been accustomed, for the first time he would forfeit one hundred marks, for the second time four hundred marks, and for the third time he would not have the chance to speak his mind again, for he

would be sent to prison for life. Again, if anyone should say in writing, that the Pope ought to be Head of the Church, his boldness would cost him his life, for he would be guilty of high treason and be hanged, drawn, and quartered. This was a very awful form of punishment which was imposed, by English law, as the penalty for high treason, for many years after the reign of Queen Elizabeth, although it became customary for its more barbarous incidents to be remitted.

Small wonder, then, if Durham men were discontented in the eleventh year of Elizabeth's reign; and we cannot be surprised that when, besides all the grievances we have talked about, Englishmen were angered to hear of that violation of the duty of hospitality involved in the imprisonment of the Queen of Scots, the men of the north were ripe for rebellion.

All through the autumn of 1569 rumours of rising had been in the air. At markets and fairs men had talked—under their breath for fear of spies, for Sussex, the President of the Council of the North, was watchful for signs of treason—with low voices men had spoken and weighed their chances if they were to rise against oppression. They spoke, too, of leadership in such an enterprise. The two great earls seemed quiet; Nevill of Westmoreland was hawking with Sir George Bowes at Brancepeth, and Percy of Northumberland made no stir at Topcliff, while in the stables at Raby and Alnwick there were fewer horses than usual.

In November, however, the explosion came; for the queen becoming suspicious by reason of the earls' refusal to attend a Council meeting at York, summoned them both to Court. Sussex tried to induce them to obey, but they knew too well that the fate of Norfolk's duke awaited them in London. To Northumberland in particular Sussex sent his secretary in hope of persuading

him, and this probably led to the rebellion breaking out just when it did. At midnight the secretary, who was staying at Topcliff, was aroused from sleep and advised to fly, while at the same time a servant woke Northumberland with the news that within an hour he would be seized by Sir Oswald Wolstrop and carried bound to Elizabeth. It is thought by some that all this was a feint on the part of the Countess of Northumberland to hurry on the rising, but whether that was so or not it answered that end; for as the secretary left Topcliff the church bells, rung backwards, sounded through the night, a sure call to Yorkshiremen to up and arm.

Northward over Croft Bridge into the bishopric Northumberland with eight in his company has gone, all armed in steel coats and caps, to join Westmoreland at Brancepeth. To them, too, has come old Richard Norton, the hero of "The Pilgrimage of Grace", riding at the head of a company of horsemen in corselets and with spears. The Norton brethren, too, with Captain Read and twenty-nine horse all fully armed, have come to Brancepeth. These and others as they arrive sit in council with Nevill and Percy, and there is much hard riding of messengers between Brancepeth and the houses of the northern gentry.

On Sunday, November 14, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Durham townsmen saw, to them, a pleasant sight, for the earls, with Richard Norton and his sons, Westmoreland's uncles Sir Christopher Nevill and Sir Cuthbert Nevill, with many others, all armed, some in corselets and others in plate-armour, with spears, arquebusses and daggers, have ridden into the city and up the steep street to the Cathedral. There, to the joy of the onlookers, the old altar stone, which, with the whole structure of the altar, had been removed from its place to make way for the Communion Table, was reinstated

Brancepeth Castle

BOROUGH OF LEWISHAM
CENTRAL
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and the Vesper Service was heard again in the old church. These things being done and a watch of twenty-four townsmen having been set, the earls with their company returned to Brancepeth.

By this time the country was fairly roused. On every road leading into Durham City were parties of men making their way to join the earls; everywhere was joy and hope that the old days had returned. In many a village the priest, long in hiding and coming forth by stealth only to administer the sacraments to his flock, was to be seen moving freely among the people, blessing their enterprise and praising their courage. In the city itself, on Monday morning, Mass was said in the Cathedral, and in all the Churches, and afterwards the army, so quickly got together, marched south. All was in good order, no violence to any, no forcible taking of provisions from the poor folk, all were paid for. At every town and village through which they passed a herald proclaimed why they had risen, and read the proclamation of the two earls, which said that their object was to see redress of things amiss, with the restoring of all the ancient customs and liberties of God's Church. Everywhere the country-folk were on their side, and ever their numbers increased until 14,000 men, of whom 2,000 were horsemen fully armed and well mounted, were on the march to the south.

The royal forces in the north were few, and if the earls had succeeded in rescuing the Queen of Scots from Tutbury Castle, they would most likely have overturned the Government, for all over the country the great lords had arranged to rise when Mary was free. Among them were the Earl of Southampton, Lord Montagu, Lord Morley, and the Earls of Worcester and Derby. Mary free, too, would have been the signal for a Spanish fleet which was waiting in Zealand, to invade England's eastern

coast, which, in the absence of any effective naval force, was open to attack. The attempt on Tutbury, however, was rendered nugatory by the removal of the Scottish queen to Coventry, and the failure to effect her rescue was the beginning of the end of the northern rising. The earls saw that their friends in the south would not rise while Mary was in prison, and their money being exhausted, and being unwilling to feed their men by forced contributions from the country people, they turned back to the north, Northumberland to Alnwick and Westmoreland to Raby. True that, on his way, Westmoreland besieged Barnard Castle, held by his old hawking friend Sir George Bowes, and took it, but this success did not help the cause. The royal army followed fast, and the earls were forced to flee across the border, where they were sheltered by the Scottish moss-troopers. Northumberland was betrayed after a time to Elizabeth, and lost his head at York. Westmoreland remained in Scotland for nearly a year, hoping that the tide would turn in English affairs. But he waited in vain, and at last he embarked for Flanders, never again to see his native land.

As soon as Elizabeth had got the upper hand in the north, she determined to make similar risings more difficult in the future by rooting out all the ancient families who had taken part in it, and they were the larger part of the northern gentry. They were attainted and their lands confiscated to the queen's use, for she would not allow Bishop Pilkington by virtue of his Palatinate rights to have them, and he had not the courage to stand up for his rights. These proceedings had the effect of bringing in a race of landholders who were well-affected towards the new religion and cared little for the old traditions of the Palatinate. As to the poor folk who had followed their lords to the field, they

were ruthlessly hanged, and there were few towns and villages in Durham that had no cause for mourning. The old religion seemed to be stamped out, and the priests were forced again into hiding; but they still continued, though the risks they ran were even greater than before, to minister to their people.

So ended the last attempt to restore England by force of arms to the ancient faith. Three hundred and forty years have passed since then, and we have all, whether we adhere to the old religion or protest against it, come to see that force is no remedy, and that the only right rule for every State is to allow to all alike the open profession and exercise of their religion without restrictions or repressive laws of any sort, it being certain that the religion that is best, if it be given a fair field, will win in the long run, not by force or by penal enactments, but by the sweet persuasion of the good that is in it.

During the reign of Bishop Toby Matthew a memorable event happened, the accession to the throne of England of James VI of Scotland. Thereby England and Scotland came under one king, and when in 1603 James and his queen entered England, on their way to London, they were entertained for some days at Durham Castle by Bishop Matthew. King James was difficult to please, but we do not hear that Bishop Matthew had trouble with him. In this respect he was more fortunate than his successor, Bishop James, who also had a visit from the king at Durham Castle, and who is said to have died from an illness brought on by the violence with which the king upbraided him for having given him sour beer at dinner.

Bishop Matthew showed Queen Elizabeth that he was made of different stuff from his predecessor, Pilkington, for on two occasions he enforced his Palatinate rights against her, once in insisting upon his rights to some lands in

Durham which had become forfeited, and, upon another occasion, when the Queen had granted a charter of incorporation to the citizens of Durham he annulled it, and then, by his own authority as Prince-Palatine, granted them another. So the spirit of the old Prince-Bishops was not quite dead.

Questions and Suggestions

1. Trace the connexion between the Pilgrimage of Grace (Chap. XIX) and the rising in the north described in this chapter.
2. Why did the King of Spain encourage the rising of 1569?
3. Read Froude's *History of England*, vol. ix, and also the ballad "The Rising in the North" in Percy's *Reliques of English Poetry*. Wordsworth's "White Doe of Rylston", too, might be read.

CHAPTER XXII

How the Barons and Men of the Bishopric Fought for King Charles I; and of the College Founded by the Protector, Oliver Cromwell

Though Border feuds of the old cattle-lifting and thieving type were almost extinct, Durham was yet again to be the scene of battle and carnage. The beginning of this bad work was in 1639, in the seventh year of Bishop Thomas Morton's reign in Durham.

The Scots began it, for provoked by King Charles's attempt to force upon them a form of religion they did not like, they joined themselves together by a strong agreement or covenant to resist the king in this matter. They knew that he would proceed by armed force, and so to be before him they got together an army and marched on Berwick. The king did the like, being entertained at Durham and Bishop's Auckland, on his way north, by

Bishop Morton, and he met the Scots at Berwick. Here, instead of fighting, the king and his Scotch subjects patched up a hollow peace, and both armies retired for a time.

When, in the summer of 1640, the Scots saw that the king had dissolved Parliament, which he had called together in the preceding April, they renewed their preparations for war, and without more ado in August, 1640, invaded England, marched without opposition through Northumberland, and came to the high ground by Newburn Church, where they fixed their artillery, and under cover of their fire forded the Tyne, and rushed the hill of Stella, where the English cavalry under Lord Conway were drawn up to receive them. Strange to relate, the English horsemen fled without striking a blow, and never drew rein till they reached Durham City. Here they were joined by their fellows, foot-soldiers, the garrison from Newcastle, who, when they heard of the flight from Stella, had been seized with panic fear of the Scots—men, as they had heard, who would give no quarter—and had promptly left Newcastle to the enemy's mercy, and sought their own safety by falling back on Durham. These men were not, be it noted, men of the bishopric, but southerners, influenced probably by superstitious and erroneous ideas about the Scots and their methods of warfare.

The Scots entered Newcastle, and the English army, disorganized by divided counsels among their leaders, and by dislike of many of the officers for their commander, Lord Strafford, retreated from Durham into Yorkshire, and left the Palatinate open to the Scots. The retirement of the English army was the signal for the flight of Bishop Morton and the cathedral clergy to York.

To Durham, then, the Scots came, and took possession of the city. The king, after vainly trying to get supplies

of money from a great Council of the Peers which was held at York, at length called a Parliament to meet in November, 1640. In the meantime, negotiations between the Scots and commissioners from the king had been held at Ripon, where it was agreed that there should be no more fighting for the present, and that the Scotch grievances should be settled in London. Until things were arranged both armies were to be maintained by the king, who borrowed money from the London merchants for the purpose. All this was very weak, but there was no unity of intention among Englishmen in those days, and we know that a disunited people cannot stand against a united foe. So the Scots remained at Durham.

One of the earliest things done in the Long Parliament which began in November, 1640, was the passing of a resolution, concurred in by both Houses, disapproving of the continuance of the Council of the North, which had first been set up after the Pilgrimage of Grace. This council had governed the north in a tyrannical manner, and all were pleased that it should be done away, as it was, for the king did not venture to call it together again.

At last, after England had been drained of enormous sums of money by authority of Parliament for maintenance of the Scots at Durham, besides a lump sum of £300,000 as a present to them, an Act of Pacification between the two countries was passed, and the king went north to settle terms with his Scottish subjects. At York there was further delay in disbanding the armies, for the necessary money was not ready, but in September, 1641, the money arrived, and the Scots retired from the Palatinate, and got them home, while the king's army at York was also disbanded.

When, early in 1642, after his final quarrel with the Parliament, King Charles left London, never to return until he came to his trial and death, he went north to

York. When the Civil War began, the men of the bishopric, with the other three northern counties, joined into a confederation for the king's support. The Durham gentry were no way behind in arming their tenants, and many a Durham man can say to-day that his ancestor raised at his own expense a troop of horse for King Charles I's service.

In the dreadful war which followed, when Englishmen who ought to have been tilling their lands, sowing their crops or working at their crafts, fought with their own countrymen in a quarrel which they did not raise, although no great battle was fought within the Palatinate, it suffered from a series of skirmishes occasioned by the entry of a Scotch army into Durham. In the earlier period of the war, after the Marquess of Newcastle, at the head of the Northumberland and Durham men, had forced the passage of the Tees at Pierce Bridge in the teeth of a strong body of Parliament men, Durham was fairly quiet until the Scots made a diversion from the north in favour of the Parliament.

The Scots first threatened Newcastle, but finding it too strong for their arms, they went westward, where, though they sustained a partial defeat at Corbridge, they forded the Tyne, and invaded the Palatinate from the north-west. This was the most open way, and that by which the old border raiding parties had usually come. In Durham they met with little opposition, for the fighting men were away with the Marquess of Newcastle, and they got across the county to Sunderland, which they seized and garrisoned. The Marquess of Newcastle got him back as speedily as possible, and in March he defeated the Scots at Boldon, while at South Shields and near Hylton Castle sharp skirmishes took place. All the attempts of the Marquess to bring the Scots to a pitched battle were in vain, and he fell back on Durham City.

What would have been the end, as between the Scots and the Marquess, we cannot guess, but unhappily the king was in straits, and wanted all the men he could get. The Marquess and his Durham men were therefore recalled south, and after a fight with the Scots at Darlington, which resulted in some loss to his army, he recrossed Pierce Bridge, and left the Palatinate to its fate, as indeed he could do naught else. The battle of Marston Moor followed, when, although the men of Durham under Newcastle fought bravely, Prince Rupert and his cavalry were beaten, and the king's cause was lost in the north.

King Charles saw Durham twice again, first when in 1646, after his surrender at Newark, he was hurried by the Scots along the north road to Newcastle, and also when, sold by the Scots to his Parliament, he was brought south through Durham and Auckland to Holmby House in Northamptonshire.

In October, 1646, bishops were by Act of Parliament abolished in England, and all bishopric lands were ordered to be sold, and the money applied to the public service. Under this statute, a great part of the bishop's lands in Durham were sold, the largest purchaser being Sir Arthur Haselrigge, who, having bought Auckland Castle, pulled it down and built himself a fine house with the old materials. The bishop's courts of law were done away with, and all the affairs of the Palatinate were administered by commissioners appointed by Parliament.

At last, the King having been brought low and executed, the turn of the Parliament which had sat so long came, and it was dissolved by the power of the sword. In 1653 Oliver Cromwell, the successful soldier, became Lord Protector in name, but king in reality.

To Cromwell Durham men owe a meed of praise, and

HYLTON CASTLE

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not the less because the good work that he did was after his time destroyed.

Since the break-up of the ancient Church, a great change had come over the educational system of the country. The old-time bishops and clergy, following the customs and traditions of a long line of predecessors, had applied a great part of their very ample revenues not only in providing for the needs of the poor, ailing, and aged, but in securing the benefits of education, elementary, secondary, as we should say to-day, and university, for all who had the energy and application to avail themselves of them. The effect of the sixteenth century changes in religion was to alter all this, and in Durham, where the Church revenues were unusually large, the results of the change were severely felt.

People in the north had long realized that, if the old Church system could not be restored, some part at least of the Church's riches should be applied towards education, and when the property of the bishopric was seized by Parliament in 1646, hopes ran high that something would at last be done. In 1650 a petition was presented to Parliament for establishment of a college out of the confiscated cathedral revenues; but it failed, for there were men in Parliament who were seekers of their own but not of the public weal. When, however, Oliver Cromwell had been Protector some three years, he thought of the needs of boys and girls in the matter of education.

In 1656, or thereabouts, Oliver went north into the Palatinate, and from what we know of him we can believe that, seeing the forlorn condition of the people, "poore, rude, and ignorant", as they were then described, he began to wonder whether after all good had come of the breaking-up of the old social arrangements. He went to Durham, and while he looked into things and considered

what was to be done, he took up his lodgings, we are told, at the old house of Houghall, away in the fields by Wear side, some two miles south of the city—a good place, quiet and retired for thought—and here the Lord Protector planned the idea of a university for Durham, which was not to be realized for nearly two centuries then to come.

Something, however, Cromwell did, for in 1657 he caused a college to be set up at Durham, and to be endowed out of the confiscated Church lands.

For three short years the new college did good work as far as secular education was concerned; but when the cathedral clergy came back to Durham after Charles II had got upon his father's throne, Oliver's college was suppressed, and we hear no more of college or university in the north until the reign of King William IV.

Question and Suggestion

1. Describe, shortly, the fighting between the Royal troops and the Scots which took place in Durham during the Civil War.
2. Hylton Castle suffered severely during the Civil War. Why? Before answering, look it up on the map.

CHAPTER XXIII

Of Bishop Cosin, and how he Restored the Waste Places. Also concerning Bishop Crewe and his Charity, and about Bishop Butler

Bishop Morton had not lived to see the joy which came to the English nation in 1660, for he had died in the previous year, an exile from his throne. Oliver was dead, his son Richard had given up his attempt to rule, and England was in danger of falling under a military des-

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potism. To thoughtful men of either way of thinking, republican or monarchical, that fate for their country was to be averted at all hazards; and so, when General George Monk declared that a free Parliament should be summoned to Westminster, no man said nay, nor was there much of sorrow, but rather rejoicing, when Parliament invited the king home again.

Dr. John Cosin had been a Prebendary of Durham in King Charles I's time, who on the abolition of episcopacy had fled to Paris, where he had ministered to the English Protestants in exile with the king. At the Restoration he returned, and was appointed Bishop of Durham in 1660. At Durham he found all desolate; the ancient choir stalls of the cathedral had disappeared, having been cut up for firewood by Scots imprisoned in the church by Oliver Cromwell after the battle of Dunbar. The bishop's palaces and manor houses had been dismantled of their woodwork, furniture, and fittings, his Castle of Stockton had been thrown down, and Haselrigge had demolished Bishop Antony's Chapel at Auckland, and the ancient manor house there. Durham Castle had suffered least, for the soldiers had thought it might be useful as a strong place to overawe Durham folk.

All these dilapidated places Bishop Cosin rebuilt or restored, as was necessary, and at Auckland in particular he built the Bishop's Palace as we see it to-day. Besides these works, he rebuilt Bishop Langley's schools and almshouses on Palace Green, now part of the University buildings; and, mindful of the need clergy and students have for good books, he built a library on the west side of the Green, where you may see his arms over the doorway. For aged folk, too, he founded almshouses, and he gave a great deal of money towards the restoration of churches in the Palatinate destroyed during the Commonwealth times. Altogether Bishop Cosin's reign was a time

of restoration, and when he died, in 1671, things had been brought back to somewhat the condition they had been settled at in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

His successor, Nathaniel, Lord Crewe, reigned at Durham for forty-seven years, through the reigns of five English sovereigns, Charles II to George I. He became Prince-Bishop through the influence of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II, and it is said that he had strong leanings towards the old religion. He certainly inclined to princely pomp, and people who were so mistaken as to think that external grandeur has any *necessary* connexion with the ancient faith, may have been deceived by Bishop Crewe's magnificence.

It was, perhaps, his liking for show which induced him, when the Duke of York came to Durham in 1677, on his way to assume the government of Scotland, to call out the militia of the Palatinate, which had taken the place of the old feudal army since 1673. In that year a law was made that every man who had £500 a year from land or other property worth £6,000, should provide and main tain one horseman, fully equipped, for the defence of the country. If a man had only 50 a year from land or £600 in other property, he had to find one pikeman or musketeer, while the smaller landholders were banded together into societies, each of which was required to provide a horseman or foot-soldier.

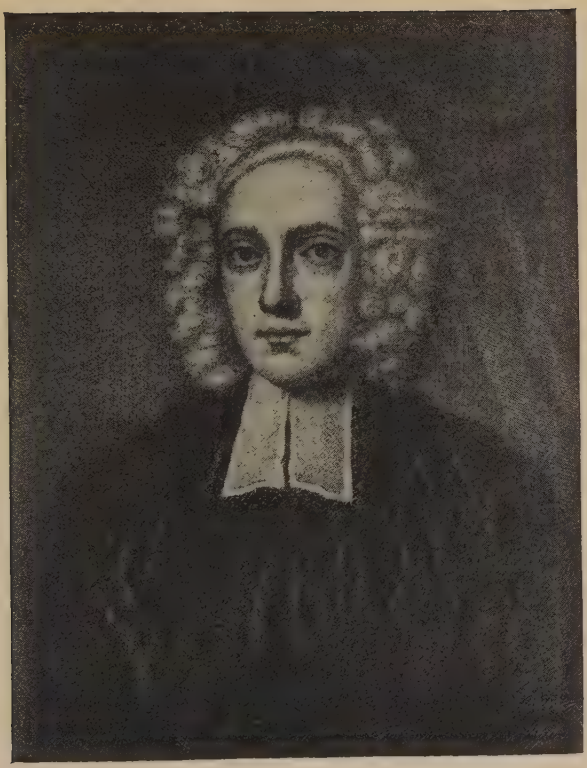
When James II fled to France, leaving the throne of England open to his-son-in-law, Bishop Crewe was in some danger of losing both his throne and his life, for he had been a prominent member of the hated Court of High Commission, and he thought it prudent to conceal his whereabouts for a time. As, however, the bishop was too valuable an ally to be lost without an effort, the prince's friends found means to tell him that, if he would support the Dutch prince, his actions as High Com-

missioner should not be remembered against him. He responded by coming out of hiding, and voting from his place in the House of Lords for William and Mary. So Bishop Crewe still sat on the throne of Durham, but he was not a hero.

Nevertheless, this bishop did a very excellent thing, and one for which many generations have held and will hold his memory in benediction, when by his will he gave a very large property to trustees to do what they might think fit with. Fortunately, his trustees were men of goodwill, and they used the riches entrusted to them in restoring the ancient Castle of Bamborough, on the coast of Northumberland, which had belonged to the bishop, and providing that it should be used for many charitable purposes, such as the maintenance of a surgery and dispensary for poor folk, free schools, and such like. Other parts of the bishop's money the trustees applied to the rebuilding of churches, in helping shipwrecked mariners, and in maintaining a lifeboat. This good work was quite along the line of the benevolent works of the old churchmen.

Lord Crewe died in 1722, and you may see his portrait in the Town Hall at Durham.

Among the successors of Bishop Crewe, there is one in particular you ought to know of, Bishop Joseph Butler. He reigned from 1750 to 1752 only, but he is noticeable for the zeal with which he set himself to restore religion in his Diocese. In his day men had grown careless about religion, and the churches were everywhere neglected and falling into decay, for the clergy were, many of them, too selfish to do their part by keeping the chancels in good repair, and the people, having so bad an example in their pastors, neglected to keep up the naves and other parts of the churches. This bad state of things Bishop Butler strove to amend, and he talked plainly to his



Bishop Butler

clergy about it, and pointed out to them their duty. This good bishop is also known for a great book which he wrote, called *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature.* This book, if read carefully, may help a man to think clearly, and argue well; but people who lack patience and do not care for orderly thinking, find it a troublesome book.

Question and Suggestion

1. Why is it bad for a country to be ruled by soldiers?
2. Compare the militia system mentioned in this chapter with the present-day territorial army system.

CHAPTER XXIV

Of the City of Durham, and of the Boroughs and Market Towns in the Bishopric

We come now to speak of the principal centres of population and trade in the Palatinate, the City of Durham, and the towns. The word 'city' originally meant the same as the word 'state'; that is, an extent of land under one government, the name of the place where the government was fixed being gradually extended to the whole land. That is how the name Durham, or Dunholme, originally the name of the city only, came to be applied to the county at large. After a time, however, the title of city came to be confined to such towns as were bishop's sees, and that is still the rule in England. Thus there is, strictly speaking, only one City, Durham, in the Palatinate, although it is not by any means the largest town in the county.

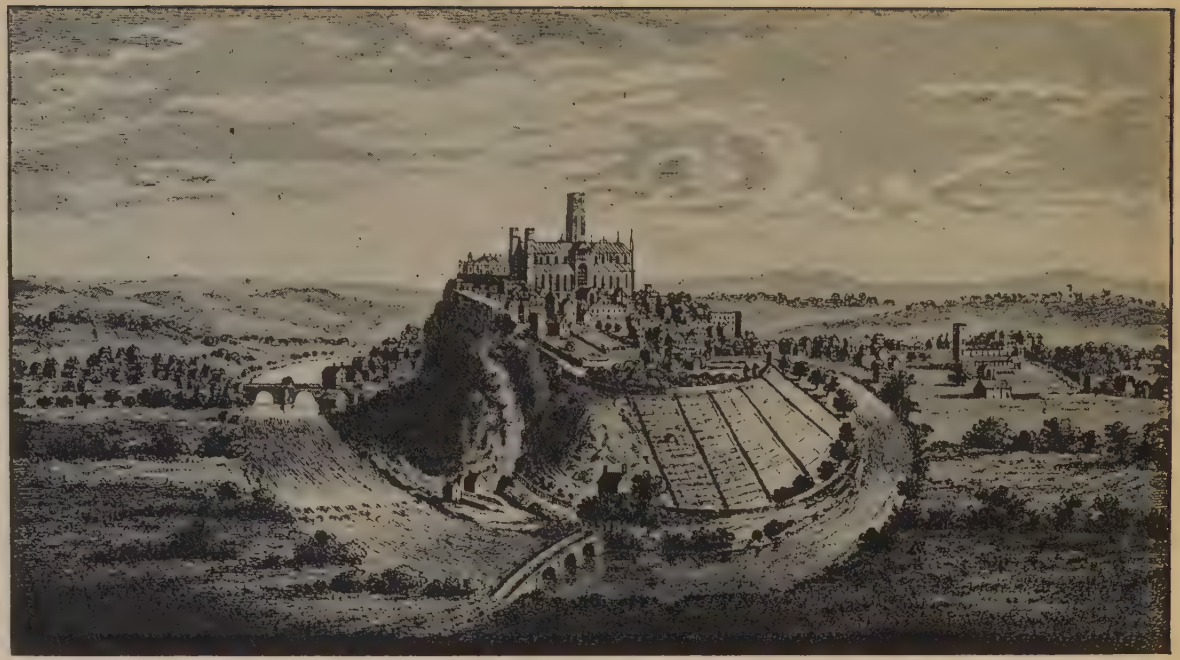
All other places where a large number of families live,

if they are not villages are towns. A town is, literally, a place hedged in, and the word is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *tynan*, to hedge in. You can easily see how this word got to be applied to large collections of houses, which were, usually, at first protected by wooden stockades, and in later times by walls. There are two kinds of towns, borough towns and market towns. A borough town is one that has received, either from the lord of the place or from the king, a charter, or deed, incorporating the guilds, or societies of townsmen, into one body, under certain rules, and giving them the right of self-government, and other powers and privileges, many of which had for their object the protection and increase of the town's trade. Borough towns are always governed by a mayor and aldermen, and have a council of citizens. Boroughs, too, are generally entitled to hold fairs, which may be described as large markets attended by traders from all parts of the country. Usually, the borough fair is managed by the mayor and aldermen, and they take the tolls, or rents, which are paid by traders for the right to set up stalls, or to sell things in the fair. A market town has no charter of incorporation, and was originally governed by the lord of the place or his steward. To the lord also, in a town of this sort, belongs the right to hold the market, and he, or his steward, receives the tolls and rents.

In Durham county there are eight borough towns, seven of which are ancient, and one is modern. These ancient boroughs are Auckland, Barnard Castle, Darlington, Gateshead, Hartlepool, Stockton, and Sunderland, the modern one being South Shields.

The market towns are Sedgefield, Staindrop, Stanhope, and Wolsingham.

It is not hard to understand how Durham came to be a city. Its position, a high hill surrounded on three sides



The City of Durham in the Seventeenth Century

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by the Wear, is enough to point it out as a place of defence, and it is probable that the ancient Britons had a fortified camp on its summit. How it came to be selected as the resting-place for St. Cuthbert's body, and how the great monastery and cathedral arose, we know. Gradually attracted by that security for life and property which the sanctity of the place assured, men came and set up their dwellings on the slopes below the monastic buildings, and as time went on they spread farther, until the growth of the city was stayed for a time by the building of the walls. It was long ere the suburbs began to extend outside the walls, and it was not until the eighteenth century that they grew to any considerable size. The market-place is probably the oldest part of the city, for, being a plateau on the hill-side, it naturally attracted notice as a good site for dwellings. In the market square was a conduit, very beautiful in its carved work, such as we spoke of in our account of the monastery cloister; and here too was the palace or town-house of the Nevills, a family always true to the great traditions of the Palatinate. The prosperity of Durham city was largely the result of the great fame of St. Cuthbert's shrine as a place of pilgrimage, for pilgrims needed lodging and food and were, besides, often traders eager to find new markets for their wares. When pilgrimage to Durham ceased, the city began to decay, and has never recovered its position as the principal centre of population and trade in the Palatinate, so that to-day it is in these respects behind other towns which were villages when Durham was a great metropolis. Nothing, however, can rob the city of its beauty, and men to-day, who approach Durham along the north road from Newcastle, see the same glorious sight as pilgrims from North Britain saw of yore: the great central tower of the cathedral with the mighty twin western towers, which of old were capped with spires,

uprising from the line of the nave, the whole perched atop of a medley of wall and roof and wooded slope, girdled by Wear's stream from Framwellgate to Elvet.

Darlington, with its wealth of manufacturing interests, its linen, woollen, and leather industries, has little in common with the collection of small holdings, as we should call them to-day, scattered on the slopes by the Skerne river, around the bishop's manor-house, and inhabited by men who held them by the service of carrying wood from the forests, wine and herrings from the sea coast, salt from South Shields, and other necessaries for use at the manor-house. The main visible connecting link between new and old Darlington is the Church of St. Cuthbert in the market-place, up to 1550 served by a college of priests placed there by Bishop de St. Carileph, and built, the greater part of it, before 1225, although the tower and spire were not put up until 1375, and the square-headed windows of the aisles indicate the decorated period, about the middle of the fourteenth century, as the time when they were inserted. Noticeable in the interior of the church is the fact that the pillars supporting the nave arches vary in shape; some are circular, others octagonal. You should notice, too, the bridge or loft across the entrance to the chancel, upon which, in old days, was a large crucifix, with figures of the Mother of Jesus and St. John on either side, while in the north wall of the chancel you will see a recess richly sculptured, which will give you the idea of a tomb. This is the Easter sepulchre, whereof we spoke in Chapter X.

The stalls in which the Canons used to sit, you will also notice; they were set up by Cardinal Langley, of whom you read in Chapter XVII, and you may see his coat-of-arms carved upon them.

As the origin of Darlington was the bishop's manor-

house, so the borough town of Barnard Castle had its beginning from the strong tower, built in the beginning of the twelfth century by Bernard Balliol, on the steep rock-bound side of Tees, 150 feet above the river. The Tees woollen mills have taken the place in public importance of the castle, and the old walls which have sheltered great barons of old, Beauchamps and Nevills, and kings, among them Richard III, whose cognizance, a wild boar, may still be seen carved in a small window overlooking the river, are now in ruins, and only serve to help visitors to Barnard Castle to while away a pleasant hour.

As is common in all northern towns, the streets in Barnard Castle are, many of them, called "gates", Thorngate, Gallow's Gate, and so forth. Sometimes this may mean that the street so named leads to one of the town gates, or formerly did so, but this meaning is more usual in the south of England than in the north. Thus, in London, there are Newgate, Bishopsgate, Aldgate, and others, all streets leading to where the old city gates so named formerly stood. In the north of England, however, the word "gate" more usually implies its original meaning of a way or path. A Scot says "Gang your ain gate" for "go your own way"; and in this same sense Gallow's Gate is the way leading to the gallows, not the city gate near the gallows, as the name would probably mean if it occurred in a southern town.

Sunderland is the chief coast town of the Palatinate. Its position at the mouth of the Wear, a river navigable for lighters over the greater part of its course and which divides the county into two almost equal parts, gives Sunderland this pre-eminence. It may be considered the harbour or port of Durham, as Ostia is of Rome; and not only does the Wear lead to Sunderland, but from all parts of the county roads converge in that direction. At Wear-

mouth, in the Middle Ages, ships would be made ready for sea-service against the pirates of the North Sea; for the Prince-Bishops were admirals of the sea which washed their shores, and claimed the same rights of sovereignty over it as the kings of England elsewhere along the coast. The modern borough of Sunderland is threefold—the old town of Sunderland, Monkwearmouth on the north river bank, and Bishop's Wearmouth on the south, all connected by the great bridge over Wear. Monkwearmouth is probably older than the other two, for it was here that, A. D. 674, Benedict Biscop founded St. Peter's Monastery, and set up the first building in England which had glass windows. Its church, St. Peter's, too, is accounted the oldest in the county, though the alterations it has passed through have tended to obscure its age. St. Michael's Church in Bishop's Wearmouth has probably very ancient work in its walls and foundations, perhaps older than A. D. 1000, but as it was rebuilt in the last century, there is little to remind us of its antiquity. It is difficult to realize that Wearmouth Green was once really a village green, before the three towns existed, save for the village of Wearmouth. Coal and everything that relates to its shipment, from the building of the ships to the making of the ships' tackle, may be said to be Sunderland's staple. Its docks, its famous lighthouse, its piers, all have come there because of coal; and coal it is which has altered Wearmouth from what it was when Benedict built St. Peter's, and men practised the long-bow on Wearmouth Green.

Of the market towns we will speak only of Staindrop, a small place, and of less importance than it once was. Staindrop used to be called Stainthorp, the "thorp or town on the stone", because it is situated on a long narrow peninsula of limestone, which runs east from the great mass of rocks of the limestone series, of which the western

The Wear above Sunderland Bridge

part of the county is formed, and has its starting-point at Middleton-in-Teesdale.

Evidence of the importance of Staindrop in ancient times is afforded by the fact that four main roads meet there—those from Barnard Castle, Bishop's Auckland, Darlington, and Yorkshire by way of Winston Bridge. Monk Symeon of Durham, of whom we have heard before, tells us that King Canute gave Raby, which was then the head manor of a large extent of country reaching from Eldon in the east to Middleton-in-Teesdale in the west, to the monastery of Durham, and that in 1131 the monks granted Staindrop to Dolphin, a nobleman of Northumberland, subject to a yearly rent of £4. Raby comprised Staindrop, and the whole manor so given to Dolphin passed to Robert FitzMaldred, who married, about 1230, Isabel, sister and heiress of Henry de Nevill. From them are descended the great Nevill families—the Earls of Westmoreland, the Marquesses of Abergavenny, and the Lords Latimer, besides the Earl of Warwick, the "King-maker", and other Nevills of lesser note.

Staindrop gives no sign, except it be in the magnificence of Raby Castle, of its former importance, for it contains to-day barely 1,500 inhabitants, and its church, St. Mary's, is the only building of any importance in the town. The oldest part of the church is to be found in the nave arches, and these should be noticed, because they illustrate the leisurely way in which the church was built. The pillars and arches are in Norman style, while the foliage carved round the capitals of the pillars belongs to the Early English period. Evidently the capitals were left unornamented for some time, and afterwards carved. You will notice in the church, among other Nevill tombs, the splendid altar-tomb of Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmoreland.

Question and Suggestions

1. What is the difference between a borough town and a market town?
2. Compare the origin of Sunderland with that of Barnard Castle.
3. Read Sir Walter Scott's poem "Rokeby."

CHAPTER XXV

Of the Coal-mines in Durham, also of the Makers of Glass, and concerning the Fisher Folk of the Coast, and the Dwellers in the Western Dales

The man who discovered that the black shaly substance which he found, here and there, protruding from the soil on the hill-side, made an excellent fire, and a useful substitute for wood, was the true predecessor of the whole tribe of coal workers, and his hole in the hill-side was the first coal-mine. Whether this man was an ancient British Celt, a Roman, or a Romanized Briton, we do not know, but it is certain that coal was worked in Britain during the Roman occupation, for in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at North Brierly, many beds of coal cinders have been discovered in the fields, amidst which carefully put together, as if for safety, were quantities of Roman coins. In Durham County coal cinders have been found among the Roman ruins at Lanchester and Ebchester.

Although we have no certain evidence of the use of coal in Northumbria during the Engle and Danish period, we cannot suppose that the value of coal as fuel had been forgotten, and we know from an entry in the Saxon Chronicle that one Wulfred was to render to the Abbot of Peterborough, among other things, 12 loads of coal every

year, as part of his service. If coal was known at Peterborough, why not in Northumbria?

There are two entries in the Boldon Book which probably refer to coal, and not, as some have thought, to charcoal. We read there that the smith of Wearmouth held 12 acres of land for his life, by the service of making the iron-work for the villagers' carts, and that he had to provide the coal required for his smithy fire. This gives you a good idea of country life in those days. The village smith managed to keep his family very well out of the produce of his 12 acres of land, and in return, instead of paying a money rent, he applied his daily labour in making iron fittings for the farm carts and the implements of agriculture required by the other villagers. Boldon Book also tells us that the villagers' carts were made by the carpenter of Wearmouth, who, like the smith, had 12 acres of land for his pains.

The first public recognition of the coal trade was in 1259, when Henry III granted to the men of Newcastle the right to dig for coal. You remember that the right to minerals is one of the rights of royalty, so that Newcastle folk needed the king's permission to dig coal. In the Palatinate this right of royalty was vested in the Prince-Bishop, and all private rights to dig coal which exist to-day in Durham came originally from a Palatinate grant. Newcastle men made so much progress in coal-digging that they speedily began to ship it to other parts, and so great had the consumption of coal become in London half a century later, that complaints were made of the smoke and dust caused by its use. The result of the clamour was that, in 1306, a Royal Proclamation was issued, forbidding people to use coal fuel in London, but so convenient was coal found to be that the Proclamation was soon forgotten, and people had their coal fires as before.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, coal was worked wherever it cropped out on the surface of the land, and in many places, notably at Merrington, Ferryhill, and Lanchester, pits were sunk.

Until the end of the eighteenth century three things stood in the way of efficient coal-mining, the absence of a safe way of getting light in the workings, the want of good ventilation in the mines and of an efficient system of keeping them clear of water. The discovery of the steam engine in 1784 and of the Davy lamp in 1815, have between them solved these difficulties. Among the curious devices to which miners were reduced for getting light without risk of explosion in the old days was the use of dried fish, the phosphorescent gleam from which gave them a little light to work by. The revolution effected in coal-mining by the invention of the steam engine was great and wide-reaching, and has made possible the deep and large area mining which is now so noticeable a feature of the coal industry.

Besides giving advantages in working the mines, the steam engine, come into use on railways and ships, and in a host of other ways, has enormously stimulated the consumption of coal, and so has been instrumental in covering the green fields of central Durham with heaps of mining refuse, and in turning its once clean villages into a veritable black country.

A word or two about the formation of coal and of the Durham coal-field. A coal-field is an extent of country under which are deposits of coal sufficiently near the surface to be got at by the ordinary appliances used in coal-mining. The Durham coal-field (see Map II) may be said, roughly, to extend from near Staindrop in the south to the river Tyne in the north, its western boundary running north from Witton-le-Wear to the Derwent near Castle side, and thence along that river to the Tyne,

while on the east its boundary follows the right bank of the river Wear, at a distance of about four miles, almost to the sea.

Coal is made of decayed plants which have been turned into minerals on the spot where they grew. The coal plants probably grew in low-lying places abutting on river estuaries and subject to overflow by the sea, and when in vast numbers, a forest in fact, they had been growing and decaying year by year, for perhaps 2,000 years, the land on which they grew began, by some of the means which we spoke about in Chapter I, to sink slowly so that the sea waters mixed among the plants with the fresh waters which flowed down from the high rocky ground, which formed as it were a basin to hold the coal-field. The land waters brought with them mud and all kinds of débris from the uplands, floating tree-stems and fern-fronds. Slowly the land sank, and ever the débris accumulated from the high lands. After a time the land ceased to sink, and for that reason the accumulation from the uplands formed faster than before over the decayed forest. The next process was a gradual rising of the land, which resulted in the formation in a few thousand years of another forest, and so the process of coal-making went on, each forest when it decayed making a coal-seam. A modern writer tells us that a coal-seam, one yard in depth, takes about 1,000 years to make. Applying this general statement to the Durham coal-field, the hard rocks of mill-stone grit by which it is bounded on the west and south answer to the high rocky ground forming the basin for our imaginary coal-field, and the decaying forest represents the centre of Durham lying in the basin formed by these hard rocks. At its eastern slope the Durham coal-field dips under the magnesian limestone rocks which form its boundary on that side, and which must have been deposited, at the bottom

of a sea, in far-away ages, after the coal had been formed.

Such is the Durham coal-field. Of the workers thereon, the hewers, the putters, the crane men, the drivers, the onsetters and all the rest, they are well known to all Durham boys and girls. The same may be said of those who work the coal to the ships at Shields and Sunderland, the keelmen and hostmen, although the increase of railways over the coal-fields has almost done away with the need for their services.

From the days of Benedict Biscop, who, as we have seen, introduced glass into Britain for the adornment of his church at Monkwearmouth, the making of glass has been a staple industry in Durham. South Shields, especially, has always been a great centre for the making of plate-glass, which has also during the last 100 years been made at Sunderland. The making of crown glass, that is, glass made in a circular shape with a knob in the centre, which once flourished greatly on the Tyne, has in modern times decreased, although of late the use of crown glass for windows has again come into fashion. Flint glass has been made in North Durham from time immemorial, and the output of pressed flint glass is very large. The art of making coloured glass is one of Durham's crafts, and the honour of having rediscovered the process, used by the great masters of the Middle Ages, by which glass is coloured in the crucible, in the course of manufacture, instead of being stained on the outside only, belongs to the Palatinate.

The fishermen of the east coast have their own customs, and live out their lives very much apart from the rest of people. They still keep up many old ways forgotten by others, such as the giving of coloured eggs at Easter and the burning of Yule logs at Christmas. These and other practices and beliefs which distinguish the fisher folk,

are survivals mostly of the ancient religion. Their old beliefs have not lessened their hardihood and courage, for no better men for life-boat work are to be found round our coasts. The fisherwomen, too, are known for their bravery, and many of them, had they the opportunity, would not be backward in doing again what Grace Darling so heroically did in that wild night off the Northumbrian coast seventy years ago.

In the western dales, speaking generally, the people are of two sorts, shepherds and lead-miners. The Romans undoubtedly worked the lead-mines, for not only did their great road, the Maiden Way, pass through the veins of ore, but manufactured lead has been found among Roman buildings. Since the fifteenth century the Durham lead-mines have been worked under licence from the Palatinate Princes. The treeless condition of the woodlands in West Durham is due to the mining industry, for the forests which, in ancient times, covered them have been cut down to provide fuel for smelting ore. As to the miners themselves, they are, like most men, largely the product of their surroundings. Living in a secluded world of their own, they are not given to much talk, but they are a kindly folk and quick of apprehension. The nature of their occupation makes of the lead-workers a scattered race, and one would think, at first sight, that they were few in number, but in reality there are several thousands of men engaged in the lead-mines spread over the hills and dales in Western Durham.

The principal feature of the western dales, after the mining, is sheep-feeding. A sheep-country, of necessity, means a thinly inhabited country, and the inhabitants of the western moorlands are, if we except the miners and the townsmen, few. One shepherd can look after many sheep, and the shepherd and his sheep, with his dogs, ever faithful to their charge and to their master, are familiar

features of these wild moors. The Durham shepherd has one bright and glorious example in the life of a shepherd boy, for was it not while Cuthbert fed his master's sheep that the call to his life-work came, and he left the sheep on the hillside to another's care to prepare himself for shepherding the Great Master's sheep in the big world beyond his native dales?

Questions and Suggestions

1. Explain why and how the invention of the steam engine affected the development of coal-mining.
2. Compare the relative advantages of crown-glass and plate-glass for windows.
3. Has the lead-mining industry had any, and what, effect on the former forestal character of the western moorlands?

CHAPTER XXVI

How the Nevills became Great in the North, and of their Power in the Bishopric until the Days of Queen Elizabeth

The greatness of the Nevills began when Robert Fitz Maldred, Lord of Raby, married a great heiress, Isabel de Nevill, fifth in descent from Richard of Nova Villa or Neuville in Normandy, a cousin of William the Conqueror. Isabel was a Norman, and Robert was of Engle, or Danish, descent, and out of deference to the ideas of the time, their son Geoffrey took his mother's surname of Nevill. By this marriage Robert added to his lordship of Raby that of Brancepeth in Durham (which had come to Isabel through her mother, who was sister and heiress to Henry de Bulmer, Lord of Brancepeth), and also that of Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire, besides many

Arms of Charles Nevill, sixth Earl of Westmoreland

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manors in Lincolnshire, and it thus came about that the Nevills became the greatest among the barons of the bishopric.

By this expression—barons of the bishopric—we mean the greater landholders in the Palatinate, who held their lands directly from the bishop, and owed allegiance to him, in the same way as the greater landholders in other counties hold their lands from, and owe allegiance to, the king. Some of the ancient services by which lands in Durham are held are very curious, and there is one which is worthy of mention—that by which the Manor of Sockburn is held. The lord of that manor, or his steward, was bound to meet the Prince-Bishop at his first coming into the bishopric, in the middle of the river Tees, either at Nesham Ford or on Croft Bridge, and present to him a faulchion, with these words: "My Lord Bishop, I here present you with the faulchion wherewith the Champion Conyers slew the worm, dragon, or fiery flying serpent; in memory of which, the king then reigning gave him the Manor of Sockburn to hold by this tenure, that, upon the first entrance of every bishop into the country, this faulchion should be presented". The bishop returned the faulchion to the lord, or his steward, and wished the Lord of Sockburn health and a long enjoyment of the manor. As the temporal sovereignty of

Conyers Faulchion

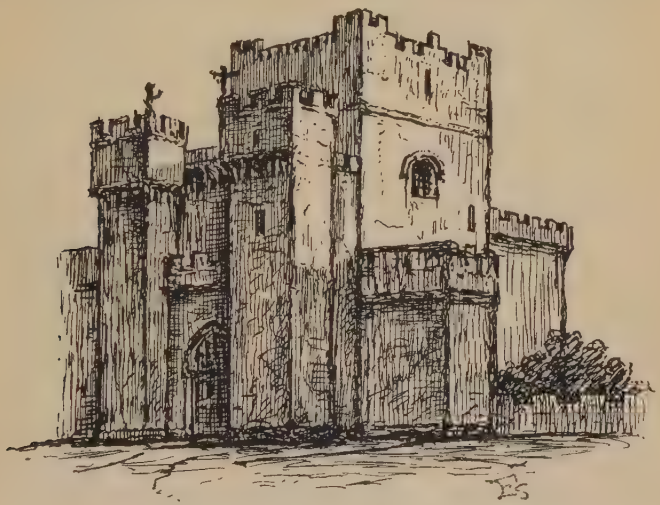
the old Prince-Bishops is now vested in the English crown, this service should now, it is supposed, be performed the first time the sovereign enters the County of Durham after his accession to the throne.

In very early times, all barons of the bishopric were entitled to attend the Great Council of the Palatinate, to deliberate upon its affairs, and to assist the bishop with their advice; but in course of time it became the custom for only such of them to attend as were summoned by the bishop, and this system led gradually to the establishment in Durham of a Palatinate Peerage similar to the Peerage of England. The result was that sons of bishopric barons who had been summoned to the Great Council claimed, and after a time succeeded in establishing, a right also to be summoned to it when they had succeeded to their fathers' lands. Of these barons of the bishopric there were many, and we may say that most of the old Palatinate families, the names of which Durham folk know so well, were among them. The Nevills, however, occupied in the Middle Ages a higher position than any of their fellow barons in the bishopric, because they were not only Palatine barons, but by virtue of their great possessions in other counties, barons of England also. Thus the lords of Brancepeth and Raby sat in the Great Council or Parliament of England, as well as in the Great Council or Parliament of Durham, and we find their names occurring in most of the rolls or lists of the nobility attending the English Parliaments in the Middle Ages.

It was the custom in those days for such a roll to be prepared by a herald on the calling of every Parliament, and against the name of each baron was placed his shield of arms. Several of these rolls are in existence, and may be seen at the British Museum. In a Parliament roll of the time of Henry VI, we find two barons of the

Nevill family, "Le C. de Westmerla", which means the Count or Earl of Westmoreland, and "Le Sr. de Nevyle", that is, the Lord de Nevill. Against the Earl of Westmoreland's name in this roll is a blank shield, while against the other baron's name is a shield with the well-known Nevill arms—a silver saltire on a red field.

The descendants of Robert and Isabel, Lords of Raby and Brancepeth, are prominent figures throughout



The Gateway, Raby Castle

Durham history. In the reigns of Bishops Robert de Stichill and Robert de Insula (1260–83), Robert de Nevill, grandson of Isabel and Robert, was Governor of Norham Castle for the bishop, and Governor of Wark, York, Pickering, and Bamborough castles for the king. He was also the king's Warden of all forests north of the river Trent. This Baron Robert, too, was one of the barons of England, who in the forty-second year of Henry III, with Simon de Montfort and Earl Richard of Gloucester,

made the Provisions of Oxford for the government of the kingdom. His son, likewise Robert, died in his father's lifetime, but not before he had added to the Nevill estates by marrying a rich lady, Mary, daughter and sole heiress (that means, that when her father died she was his only living child) of Ralph Fitz Ranulph, Lord of Middleham in Yorkshire.

Robert and Mary had many children and grandchildren, foremost among whom was the great Ralph, Lord Nevill, who, with his son John, led the "halywercfolc" at the battle of Nevill's Cross. Another Ralph, his grandson, was a man of mark, being Governor of Carlisle, and High Warden of the Border Marches, while in 1397 he was created Knight of the Garter and Earl of Westmoreland. The Honour of Penrith, too, was granted to him, and from John of Gaunt he received large grants of land in Richmondshire in Yorkshire.

Two years afterwards Earl Ralph took Henry of Lancaster's side against King Richard II, being joined by the Lords Percy, Roos, Willoughby and other barons of the north.

Henry IV created him Earl Marshal of England, with the special privilege of bearing a golden staff of office ringed at the ends with black, and engraved on the upper end with the king's arms and on the lower with his own.

This Ralph is the Earl of Westmoreland pictured by Shakespeare, in his play of *Henry V*, as wishing that there were at Agincourt,

"But one ten thousand of those men in England
That do no work to-day",

although he had with him scions of the oldest families of the north country—among them Sir Thomas Rokeby, Sir John Hoton, Roger Ratcliffe, John Swinburne, and John Wordale.

Earl Ralph was one of the few leading men of the Middle Ages who had a uniformly successful life, and when he died, in 1426, he was Lord, not only of Raby, Brancepeth, Sheriff Hutton, and Middleham, but of eighty manors besides, mostly in Yorkshire and the eastern counties.

Bishop Robert Nevill, who succeeded Cardinal Langley at Durham, and reigned for nineteen years, in the days of Henry VI, was a son of this Earl Ralph. He is noted for the mildness of his rule, and the wisdom which he displayed in political negotiations between England and Scotland and in keeping peace on the borders. He built, in 1438, a new Palatinate Court of Justice, on Palace Green at Durham, with necessary offices attached, which is now used as part of the University Library, and you may see his shield of arms over the door. The good King Henry VI visited Bishop Robert at Durham in 1448, and was greatly pleased with the "noble manner of Divine Service", and with the people of Durham, whom he described in a letter of thanks to the bishop for his hospitality, as "all radicate in the faith of God, as Catholike a people as ever we came among, and all good and holy". Bishop Robert was buried among his ancestors in the cathedral, and his figure, made of latten (a mixture of brass and copper), in his episcopal vestments, let into a stone slab, was placed over his grave. This kind of memorial is called a brass, and we often find that ancient brasses have been torn from their stone slabs, leaving only their shape or matrix in the stone. This, unfortunately, has happened to Bishop Robert's brass.

With Charles, the sixth and last Earl of Westmoreland of the ancient creation, the star of the elder branch of the great Nevill family set, never to rise again. Their great estates in Durham were forfeited, as we have seen, and Raby and Brancepeth were, for a season, the property

of Robert Carr, unworthy favourite of James I; but afterwards Raby was sold to Sir Henry Vane, whose descendants possess it to-day, while Brancepeth, after being held by the Crown for many years, passed into private hands.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did Geoffrey, son of Robert Fitz Maldred, prefer a Norman to an English surname?

2. Explain why the Palatinate Peerage has become obsolete and generally forgotten, and compare its history with that of the English Peerage.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCERNING THE ROADS AND THE RAILWAYS IN THE PALATINATE

AN old writer has compared the shape of the City of Durham to that of a crab, the roads radiating from it answering to the claws. Perhaps a better simile would be a cuttlefish with its tentacles, but either fancy presents a truthful picture. There are seven great roads radiating from Durham City:—

1. To Newcastle, through Chester-le-Street and Gateshead.

2. Through Lanchester, and over the Derwent at Shotley Bridge, into Northumberland.

3. To Alston in Cumberland, through Brancepeth, Wolsingham, Stanhope, and over the Pennine Range, at a height of 2,056 feet above sea level.

4. Over Croft Bridge into Yorkshire, by way of Sunderland Bridge, Ferry Hill, and Darlington.

5. To Stockton, through Sedgefield.

V
DURHAM
TYNEMOUTH
SOUTH SHIELDS
NEWCASTLE
GATESHEAD
Jarrow
NORTH
SEA
R. Tyne
Ryton
Stella
R. Derwent
Boldon
Monk Wearmouth
Southwick
SUNDERLAND
Hylton Castle
R. Wear
Burnopfield
Ebchester
Shotley Bridge
R. Allen
Lambton Castle
Chester le Street
Lumley Castle
Warden Law
Houghton le Spring
Seaham Harbour
Dalton le Dale
EASINGTON WARD
Pinchale
Hawthorn
Easington
Hunstonworth
Cold Rowley
Lanchester
CHESTER WARD
Kilhope Cross
Rokhope
R. Browney
Ushaw
Durham
Sherburn
Castle Eden
Stanhope
Wolsingham
Brandon
Brancepeth
Sunderland Bridge
Burnhope
R. Wear
Hartlepool
Hart
Westenhope Moor
Witton le Wear
Ferryhill
Trimdon
Bishop Middleham
Merrington
DARLINGTON WARD
Bishop Auckland
Sedgefield
Wynyard
Greatham
High Force
Middleton in Teesdale
Windlestone
Rushyford
West Auckland
Raby
Staindrop
Port Clarence
Bishopton
STOCKTON WARD
STOCKTON
Barnard Castle
R. Tees
High Coniscliffe
Sadberge
Darlington
Yarm Br.
Dalescliffe
Pierce Bridge
Dinsdale
Croft Br.
R. Tees
Sockburn
Roads
P.V. Darlington, Oxford, 1909
Scale
10 5 0 10
Engl. Miles

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6. To Hartlepool, by way of Castle Eden Station and Hart.

7. To Sunderland, through Houghton-le-Spring.

The other principal main roads in the county are:—

8. From Yarm Bridge on Tees, through Stockton and Easington, to Sunderland, north of which the road divides, one section leading to South Shields, and the other through Boldon to Gateshead.

9. From Gateshead, by Ryton, to Hexham in Northumberland.

10. From Gateshead to Burnopfield, where the road forks, one branch going to Shotley Bridge, and the other to Lanchester.

11. From Barnard Castle, through Middleton-in-Teesdale, to Alston.

12. From Barnard Castle, through Staindrop and Bishop's Auckland, to the great North road, a little south of Sunderland Bridge.

13. From Barnard Castle to Darlington.

14. From Darlington to Staindrop.

15. From Darlington, by West Auckland, Witton-le-Wear, and Cold Rowley, to Shotley Field in Northumberland.

16. From Darlington to Stockton, through Sadberge.

Most of these great roads are ancient, and were in existence in the Middle Ages, all through the stirring times when the Scots used to harry the fields, and carry off the cattle of Durham men; but you must not suppose that they have always been in their present excellent condition. Indeed, at the end of the seventeenth century, the roads, not only in Durham but all over England, were in winter time almost impassable for wheeled vehicles, and many of them, even main roads, were little better than tracks. Well on into the eighteenth century, the Judges of Assize, with their clerks, and the barristers who went

the Northern Circuit, had to ride on horseback, because the roads were impassable for coaches.

It is likely, however, that the roads were kept in better condition in the Middle Ages, when the feudal system of land tenure was in full force, than in later times, because the landholders were bound, among other things, to keep the roads in repair, and maintain the bridges, all at their own expense; but when, about Henry VIII's time, the old rules of land tenure began to fall into desuetude, the landholders got increasingly lax in fulfilling their duties, and at last, in the first year of King Charles II, a parliament of landholders passed an Act relieving them from all feudal duties and liabilities, among them the liability to repair roads and bridges. The result was that the roads got into worse and ever worse condition. Sometimes, and in some places, they were repaired by order of the justices of the peace, and in others they were almost entirely neglected, until in modern times Acts of Parliament making provision for up-keep of the roads were passed, the expense being raised by rates levied upon occupiers of land. Many other laws, too, have been made which have brought about the good roads all over the country which we have to-day.

The ten principal railways in the Palatinate which have been made since the first passenger line in England was laid down from Stockton to Darlington, answer to and pursue a more or less parallel course to the great main roads. Durham was the birthplace and cradle of the railway system, which had its origin in the far-away days, some 300 years ago, when, to enable the horse-drawn carts in which coal was conveyed from the pits to the Tyne or Wear to carry heavier loads than had been accustomed, flanged wooden bars were laid down for the carts to run upon. The advantage of this plan was soon apparent, and when four-wheeled wagons had been

substituted for two-wheeled carts, a horse was able to pull 42 cwt., where before he had pulled only 17 cwt. It only needed the wrought-iron rail and the flanged wheel, both of which came in due time, for a railway and rolling-stock to be ready for the locomotive steam engine. When that crowning invention had become an efficient instrument, 200 tons could be carried at an expense for fuel scarcely greater than the cost of fodder consumed by a horse in pulling 17 cwt.

Question and Suggestion

1. Explain how the Feudal Tenures Abolition Act, passed in the reign of Charles II, in its results, affected the condition of the roads.
2. Read Macaulay's *History of England*, Chapter III.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Of Place-names in Durham County, and about the Wild Animals, Birds, and Plants therein

An excellent way of getting an idea of the ancient condition of a place, and how it grew to what it is to-day, is to inquire into the meaning of the names of its natural features, such as rivers, valleys, and hills, and of the towns and villages scattered about its surface. Thus we can understand how the Tyne got its name when we know that the Celtic word for *running water* is *tian*, and why the Tees was so called, when we call to mind the Celtic word *tam* or *tem*, meaning *spreading*, and the tendency of the Tees in old days to spread out in flood over the country. Tees is short for *tem-ese*, and so we have a *Tham*-es, or *Tem*-ese, river in the north, as well as in the south, of England, and they both mean *the spread-*

ing-out water. The Team, which flows from Pontop Pike to the Tyne, has the same meaning. Derwent, again, from the Celtic word *dur*, water and *gwyn*, shining, is a good name for the quick-flowing river that runs down to the Tyne from the western moorlands. The constant occurrence of the suffix *hope*, a look-out place, in the names of the smaller rivers or burns, shows us that they flow from very high places. The derivation of the river-name Wear is not certain, but it is likely that it got its name on account of its swift-flowing character, from the Celtic word *arw*, violent, or perhaps from *garw*, rough. The principal rivers in Durham have Celtic names, while the smaller streams mostly derive their names from Engle sources, as you can see from any good map of the county. Stanley, Hedworth, Baronhope and Harthope Burns, and the rest, are all English names, though here and there a Danish stream-name may be found near the coast.

Nearly all the high hills in the west of Durham are called *hopes* or look-out places, and in many instances the word *law*, which means a mound, and conveys much the same idea as *hope*, has been added. Thus we have Kilhope Law, which reminds us of the Irish monks from Iona, who brought religion back to Northumbria in the days of St. Oswald the King. Kil is Irish for a hermit's cell, and after a time came to mean a church. It is pretty certain, then, that a small church on or near to the breezy height of Kilhope Law, was set up by one of these Irish missionaries. Among the many *laws* in the county is Wardilaw, the hill where the military muster of Easington Ward met.

Engle influence in Durham is well shown by the vast number of place-names ending in *-ton*. This suffix conveys the idea of enclosure or hedging in, and the other common English terminations to names of places, such as *-worth*, *-park*, *-hay*, *-bury*, *-fold*, and *-ham*, all have very

much the same meaning. There are about 100 *-tons* in the Palatinate, e. g. *Witton*, the white town, *Seaton*, the town near the sea, also *Seaham*; *Winlaton* and *Windlestone*, both probably indicating places of settlement of some of the Vandal soldiers brought to Britain by the Roman Emperor Probus. *Ryton* is the king's town, *Chilton* may mean Julius's town, for the prefix *Chil-* was sometimes written *Jul-*, and we may have in this name a remembrance of a Roman officer of the Julian family in North Britain. *Merrington*, *Truskington*, *Stillington*, *Wolsingham*, and such like names, indicate settlements of the *Myrings*, *Truskings*, *Stillings*, and *Wulfings*, names of families often met with in Engle and Saxon songs. There are only about half a dozen place-names ending in *-by* (Danish) in Durham, showing that the Danish influence came on the county after most of the place-names were settled. The name Durham is almost certainly derived from *dun-* (Celtic), a hill fort, and *holm* (Norse), an island in a lake or river. There are about twelve place-names ending in *-wick* in Durham, mostly inland, and therefore derived from the Engle *wic*, a village. When *wick* occurs in a place-name on or near the coast, such as Southwick near Wearmouth, it is usually of Danish origin, from the Norse word *wic*, a bay. Hartlepool reminds us of the far-away time when a great forest (*hart*) grew round the pool there; while Wynyard Park, near Sedgefield, speaks of the days when vineyards were cultivated in England, and very excellent English wine made from the grapes thereof.

The curious place-name Unthank, which occurs twice in this county, perhaps marks the meeting-place of the *Ting*, the Danish equivalent of the Engle folk-mote, and it may be that Dinsdale (Tingsdale) has a similar meaning.

Evidence of Roman occupation at Ebchester, Binchester, Lanchester, and Chester-le-Street would have

survived in the names of these places, even if no Roman remains had been found in them, for *chester* in a place-name always points to the presence of a Roman castrum or camp. The Engles sometimes made up names for deserted Roman places, partly from what they could catch of the Roman names when spoken by the Britons, and in part from the Latin word best known to them, because most frequently heard, castrum. Thus Binchester is compounded from *Bin*-ovium, its Roman name, and castrum; Ebchester may be from *Eb*, the place where the water flowed, but possibly from St. Ebba, to whom the ancient church of Ebchester is dedicated, and castrum; for it seems likely that the Roman name of this place, Vindomora, was unknown to the Engles. Lanchester may have got its name from the Celtic *Lan*, an open place, the hill camp rising from lower ground; or, if the Roman name was *Lon*govicum, as some suppose, *Lon* may have been subsequently changed to *Lan*. Chester-le-Street speaks for itself, the castrum on the Roman street leading to Gateshead. Cold Rowley, five miles west of Lanchester, may point to the presence of deserted Roman buildings there, where travellers could obtain only the *cold* hospitality of a half-ruined shelter. There are many places on Roman roads, in other counties, with the prefix *cold*, and they are generally called *Cold* harbour.

Durham is a good hunting-ground for botanists, especially in the river valleys and the east coast denes. All the forest trees, oak, ash, and elm, with the yew and birch, are found in the valleys; and in the denes the hawthorn, hazel, holly, and juniper. In the denes, too, you may find in July and August the crimson flowers of the bloody crane's-bill, and earlier in the year the slender stem of the fly orchis, with its reddish-brown flowers, patched blue on the tips and yellow-edged. Here, too, you may be lucky enough some day in May to come

across the pale yellow lady's slipper, which is becoming scarcer every year.

On Tees banks, by Dinsdale, in springtime, look for the pale blue anemone, which is not indigenous to England, but has become naturalized in wooded places. Another rare plant or grass, the *Sesleria caerulea*, with shiny blue-grey panicle, you may find on the limestone grass-land near Houghton-le-Spring, while across the county, in Teesdale, are easily found, among ferns, the toothed bladder-fern and the bright green fronds of the alpine shield fern. In boggy places in the Tees valley, too, are the bird's-eye primrose, its flowers crowded together in tufts, each little blossom with folded yellow mouth.

Among the herbs and shrubs growing on the rocky river banks in upper Teesdale, are found the silky lance-shaped leaves and golden flowers of the fruitful cinquefoil, and also the yellow Alpine cinquefoil. In stony places, among the saxifrages, is the white-flowered three-leaved sort, and the flowers, yellow with red dots, of the mountain saxifrage, lying on their light green cushions of leaves; also the bell-shaped white flowers of the lady's cushion.

Cocken woods, opposite Finchale, in springtime are covered with wild daffodils, and in June and July the bird's-nest orchis, so called from the shape of its roots, with its grey-brown flowers, will reward a patient search.

The rivers of Durham produce plenty of fish: chub, tench, dace, roach, barbel, pike, eels, gudgeon, and lampreys, besides the little minnow and stickleback, found everywhere, the delight of the boy angler; while trout are rare, and the condition of the lower parts of the rivers are not favourable to salmon. If you would like to know all about river fish, and come to love fish and fishing, borrow from some one who cares for old books Izaak

Walton's *Compleat Angler*, written in 1653, and he will teach you how to catch the shy chub with a grasshopper, the ravenous pike with a frog, and the bold biting perch with a minnow.

As to the sea fish, besides the ordinary kind which the fishermen bring in, porpoises may often be seen making their way in straight lines through the water by a strange rolling method of progression, coming to the surface, rolling over, going under, and a little farther on coming up again and taking another turn over, and so on. Angel fishes, too, lump-fishes, gar-fishes, and lampreys are found. At Tynemouth, whales have at times been seen, but no whale has been taken off Durham for many a long day. Tradition tells of seals having been seen off the coast, though very seldom south of the Farne Islands.

In the river valleys of upper Teesdale, otters, and the few badgers left by the foxhunters, may still be found. The otter is a worthy creature, for he can, if caught young, be tamed and taught to catch fish for his master. Is the otter a beast or a fish? He has a fish's tail, but he can walk on land. Brockley Whine will keep green, in Durham, the memory of the badger. Brockley means the *ley*, or forest glade, where the *brock* or badger lived.

Of foxes, destructive and mischievous animals, there are plenty and to spare, while the wild cat, which long lingered in the western moorlands, is probably extinct. Hares and rabbits, of course, are abundant, and Coniscliffe—the cliff of the coneys or rabbits—reminds us of the saying of Solomon, "The conies are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks." The moors are well stocked with game, partridges, grouse, and blackcock. The eagle is very seldom seen, though Eggleston, or the Eagle's burn, and Egglescliffe attest his former presence. Much the same may be said of the raven, brought

to mind by Ravensworth in the north of the county, though the small merlin falcon is fairly plentiful in the west.

All the ordinary English birds are found in Durham, and the woodcock, golden plover, corncrake, lapwing, teal, and all kinds of wild duck are common.

Seal of Roger de Ferie

Of animals now extinct in Durham, the memory of the wolf is preserved in the place-name Wolveston, and of the wild boar in Brantoft and Brancepeth, and perhaps in Brandon. The prefix *Bran* refers to the brawn, or wild boar, of a ferocious specimen of which, once the terror of mid-Durham folk, the old ballad-maker sings:

> "He feared not ye loute with hys staffe,
> Nor yet for ye knyghte in hys mayle;
> He cared no more for ye monk with hys boke
> Than ye fyendis in depe Croix Dale";

and upon which dire vengeance was threatened, when

> ". . . Oute spake Hodge, yt wyghte soe bolde
> Yt wons on Ferie hye,
> And he hathe sworne by Seynct Cudberte hys rode,
> Yt thys horride brawne shall dye".

Evenwood, also, perhaps derived from *Eofre* (Norse for boar), may preserve the memory of a boar-haunted wood near West Auckland. It should be added that all these words beginning with *Bran* have, by a writer whose opinion carries great weight, been derived from the Celtic word *Bryn*, a brow or ridge; but the old story of the wild boar is too good to be forgotten, and it may be true. It is certain that there was a man named Roger de Ferie,

who had for his badge a wild boar ; for his seal, bearing that animal, is attached to a deed which is to be seen in the Bishop's Registry at Durham.

Questions

1. What is the meaning of the suffix *-worth* in a place-name ? Is it Celtic, English, or Danish by derivation ? Make a list of place-names in Durham with that termination.

2. How do you account for there being so few Danish, as compared with English, place-names in Durham, in spite of the fact that Danish social arrangements superseded those of the Engles ?

CHAPTER XXIX

Telling how Durham County is Governed to-day, and of Education in the Palatinate

Durham, like the rest of England, is governed to-day by King Edward VII, with the advice and consent of Parliament. It is not, however, as King of England that His Majesty rules over Durham, but as Prince Palatine, as successor in temporal sovereignty to that long line of Prince-Bishops of whom we have heard the tale.

It was not until the reign of Charles II that the Palatinate was represented in the House of Commons, and Durham men began to have a voice in the government of England, beyond such as they might have had as the result of the presence in the House of Lords of the bishop, as Earl of Sadberge, and the few barons of the bishopric who, by virtue of baronies in other counties, had seats in that House. Considerable opposition was made by Bishop Cosin and his immediate friends to a petition which in 1666 was presented by the principal gentry and freeholders of the county to Parliament, praying that representatives might be sent by Durham to the English Parliament, and when at last a Bill for this purpose was introduced, it was strongly opposed by the

bishop in the House of Lords, and was ultimately defeated. As, however, after some years, men saw the advantage which would come to the Palatinate by closer union with the rest of England, opposition was withdrawn, and in 1675 an Act of Parliament giving Durham City and the County representatives in the House of Commons was passed.

ARMS OF KING EDWARD VII
AS PRINCE PALATINE OF DURHAM

The *first* members for the County were John Tempest, of Old Durham, Esquire, and Thomas Vane, of Raby Castle, Esquire; and for the City, Sir Ralph Cole, of Brancepeth Castle, and John Parkhurst, of Catesby, Co. Northampton, Esquire.

Durham now sends sixteen representatives to the House of Commons, eight being knights of the shire for the eight divisions of the county, viz.: North-west

Durham, Chester-le-Street, Jarrow, Houghton-le-Spring, Mid-Durham, Bishop Auckland, South-east Durham, and Barnard Castle ; and the remaining eight being burgesses, representing the city and the boroughs of Darlington, Stockton, Hartlepool, South Shields, Gateshead and Sunderland, which last borough has two representatives. Thus, Durham men to-day have an equal voice with other Englishmen in the government of their country.

As to the management of county affairs, most of the administrative business, such as keeping roads and bridges in order, looking after asylums and industrial schools, appointing coroners, arranging for public elementary education, and to some extent for secondary education, licensing theatres, and a variety of other things, is vested in the County Council, which is elected by all occupiers within the county whose holdings are worth £10 a year or more, and consists of a chairman, aldermen, and councillors.

There are also Urban District Councils for the larger towns which are not municipal boroughs, and Rural District Councils for country places, while every country parish has its Parish Meeting, and, if it has more than 300 inhabitants, it has a Parish Council. Both the Parish Meeting and Parish Council are subject to the Rural District Council. These smaller bodies manage the purely local affairs of their own districts, and may decide, among other things, whether they shall have public baths, washhouses, cemeteries, certain public improvements, and public libraries. They also appoint overseers of the poor and trustees of local charities, where the power of appointment was formerly in the overseers or churchwardens. They have, too, various powers with reference to the maintenance of footpaths and other public rights. The Parish Councils have wider powers than the Parish Meetings, and have had transferred to them all the civil

powers of the old Parish Vestries and of the churchwardens. The Parish Council and all local authorities above them provide and manage allotments, while the County Council has compulsory powers of acquiring land for small holdings. The greater boroughs are treated as separate counties, and manage their own affairs.

The judicial work of the county is done by Justices of the Peace, some of whom, generally the greater landholders, are justices for the whole county, while others can act only in the boroughs for which they have been appointed; also by Recorders in the city and boroughs, by a County Court Judge, and by the king's Judges of

Assize. The work of the justices is mainly concerned with the hearing of criminal charges, and with regard to the less serious cases, they try the offender, and if he be found guilty sentence him. The more important criminal cases are sent by the justices before whom they first come to be dealt with either at the quarterly meetings of all the justices, called Quarter Sessions (which in the city and in the boroughs are presided over by the Recorder, and in the county by an elected chairman), or by the king's judges, who come to Durham three times a year, in spring, summer, and autumn. The County Court Judge travels about the county, and holds his court at various places at certain periods, usually once or twice a month. He settles all actions which do not involve in dispute larger sums than £50, and by consent of the parties he can try more important cases. There are also certain ancient courts, such as the Halmote Court, which carries us back to very ancient times, for it is the modern survival of the Bishop's Court of Justice held in his hall, which had developed gradually from the more ancient folk-mote, over which the bishop presided, and which met in the open air. The Halmote Court to-day is presided over by a steward, who represents the king as Prince Palatine. The old Palatine Courts of Chancery also still exist, but the jurisdiction of the Palatine Court of Pleas has been transferred to the King's High Court of Justice. The Prince Palatine has his Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General for Durham, who do similar work in relation to Palatine affairs as the king's officials bearing the same titles do for the kingdom at large; although, as there are now neither a resident Palatine sovereign, nor a Palatine Parliament, their duties are less onerous than they were in the old days.

Before 1870 the only public elementary education

obtainable was that given by the free schools and schools of a similar kind founded by good people in days long ago, and by schools carried on by various religious denominations. Of the old foundation schools in the Palatinate, of which there were many, we may notice a few of those which have survived to our own day.

To Henry VIII is commonly given the credit of having founded Durham School, but the history of the school affords very little support to such a claim on his behalf. There are not wanting proofs that the Benedictine Monastery of Durham had its school for teaching grammar as early as the thirteenth century, and as we know that schools were attached to all monasteries even in the earliest times, it cannot be supposed that Durham before the thirteenth century was an exception. We shall, therefore, I think, be justified in saying that a grammar school has been an essential part of the establishment of Durham Cathedral from its foundation in Saxon days to the present time. It is likely that, prior to the fifteenth century, the Grammar School boys, as well as those of the Choir School, were taught at first in the Cloisters, and afterwards in the Almonry of the monastery, and that, about the beginning of that century, some inconvenience resulted from this practice, owing, perhaps, to the need of space for the constantly increasing activities of the convent. Cardinal Langley, the bishop at that time, seems to have been influenced by some such consideration as this when in 1414 (as we learn from a recital in a charter of Bishop Cosin dated August 31, 1668) he built two school-houses on the east side of Palace Green, designing one "for instructing boys in the rudiments of learning unto the Latin and Greek grammar, and the other to instruct boys in the art of writing and plain-song". At the same time, the Cardinal decreed that the masters of these schools should be the

two priests serving the chantry founded by him in the Galilee Chapel, and that each of them should have a yearly stipend of six marks, subsequently raised to £10.

It may be surmised that Cardinal Langley's idea was to transfer the monastery grammar school to his newly-built school-house on Palace Green, but, however this may have been, the transfer was not made for many a year after his time, and the monks continued their school, independently of the Cardinal's foundation, until the dissolution of the monastery in the days of Henry VIII. Then, at last, the two schools were amalgamated, and the Cathedral Statutes, made in pursuance of Henry VIII's charter resettling the affairs of the Cathedral after the dissolution of the monastery, provided for the carrying on of the Grammar School, with two masters and eighteen foundation scholars, who thenceforth were to be called King's Scholars.

This arrangement appears to have been in no sense a refounding of the school, but merely a provision for its continuance, and we find, in fact, that there was no break in the work of the school in King Henry's time. It went on, at Cardinal Langley's school-house on Palace Green, much as it did before the monastery was dissolved, and under the same head master, Henry Stafford. The only differences (leaving changes in religious matters out of consideration) seem to have been that to Cardinal Langley's boys were added the boys of the monastery grammar school, and that their head master, Robert Hartburn, became second master of the united school.

In the first year of the reign of Philip and Mary the Cathedral statutes were revised, and among the persons to be supported by the church are enumerated one master and one under master of the Grammar School and eighteen grammar scholars. Other chapters of these statutes make provision for education of the eighteen

DURHAM SCHOOL TO-DAY

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foundation scholars, the appointment of the masters, attendance at the Cathedral services of masters and boys, the masters to be "in their proper habits", the first master to sit above the minor Canons and the other one below them. Under these statutes the head master was to receive quarterly £5 2*s*., and each foundation scholar 15*s*.

So settled, the Grammar School went on, on Palace Green, until 1640, when, as we read in Chap. XXII, the Scots came to Durham. On that occasion amongst other damage they destroyed Cardinal Langley's buildings on Palace Green, and the school was, for some years, carried on in one or another of the prebendal houses. It is probable that this state of things continued till after the restoration of Charles II, for Bishop Cosin, in his charter of 1668, to which reference has been made, states that he had "built anew two school-houses, anciently erected by the appointment of the most reverend prelate and lord, Thomas Langley, our predecessor, on the Bishop's Palace Green . . . (lately almost fallen and laid waste by the violence of the times and neglect of men)". And so confirmed in its ancient position by Bishop Cosin, the Grammar School continued on Palace Green until 1842, when, owing to a great increase in numbers, and to the then recent foundation of the University, it was thought desirable to remove the school across the river to its present site, then called Bellasyse or Goosecroft.

In its new surroundings Durham School has continued the splendid educational work started, in far-away days, by the Benedictines of Durham and by Cardinal Langley, and no old Durham boy can glance over the School Register, recently compiled as a labour of love under the editorship of two old Dunelmians, without a thrill of pardonable pride and a feeling of satisfaction. There he will see, among old boys, names famous in science, theology, medicine, the art world, on the judicial bench,

in both branches of the legal profession, in commerce and in every other walk of life. There, too, he will read his school's record on the river, and how old Dunelmians have often rowed for Oxford or Cambridge in the great annual boat race. He will also incidentally learn that Durham Regatta, at which the school has always sent in a crew for the Grand Challenge Cup for fours, and not a few times won it, was founded in 1834, five years before Henley Regatta.

The Free Grammar School of King James at Bishop Auckland was founded in 1604 by Royal Charter, upon the petition of Ann Swifte, a widow, of the city of Durham. To her the old school owes its beginning, and it was she who provided the original yearly endowment of £16. King James gave his countenance to the foundation by granting the charter, but he gave no more. The charter ordained that there should be "one Grammar School in the Town of North Auckland otherwise Bishop Auckland for the education teaching and instruction of all and every the young people in the Rules of Grammar and other fruitful knowledge for ever", and that the teaching staff should consist of one master and one usher. In 1638 Bishop Morton gave a new school-house near St. Ann's Chapel in the Market Place, and when, in 1781, this school-house was rebuilt, Bishop Barrington added a residence for the master and a garden on the south side of the Market Place. In 1847 the school was removed to Newgate Street, and, some years later, owing to the too close proximity of other buildings, the Newgate Street school-house and the master's house in the Market Place were sold and a new school-house and master's residence were built. This old school has helped to educate many distinguished men, among them the late Lord Armstrong, notable for his knowledge of hydraulics, and better known as the inventor of the Armstrong gun.

In 1825 the number of boys at the school was fifty-five, while to-day there are nearly 150.

The story of "The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth" at Darlington differs from many similar foundations in that the original endowment of the school was provided, not by a private person, but by the Crown. By the charter, dated June 15, 1567, made by authority of Parliament and upon the petition of Henry, Earl of Westmoreland, father of the ill-fated Charles, last Earl of Westmoreland of the name of Nevill, and of the then bishop, on behalf of the inhabitants of Darlington, Queen Elizabeth, after ordaining the foundation of "a Grammar School in the Village of Darlington for the education, institution and instruction of youth in Grammar", and providing that there should be one master and one usher to teach the youth, appointed governors of the school and granted to them two houses and certain land at Heighington in Durham, three houses and certain rents in Darlington, and a close of land at Thornaby. These houses, lands and rents had belonged to a chantry founded, long years before, by one Robert Marshall in Darlington Church, and in the days of Henry VIII they had become Crown property under the statute for the suppression of chantries. We may well give to Queen Elizabeth a meed of praise for this restoration of lands originally given for charitable purposes to another purpose of a charitable nature—the providing of education for Darlington children. The annual value of these lands, which in the charter is described as £5 4*s.* 10*d.*, had by 1818 increased to £207 18*s.* 6*d.* Since that time the school has been reconstituted upon the old foundation, and it has now on its register about 140 boys, some of whom are boarders.

Houghton-le-Spring next claims our attention. The parish is memorable as the cure held by Bernard Gilpin,

who, in the troublous days of Philip and Mary and Elizabeth did much, by his preaching and by the example of his well-regulated life, to lessen in the north the evils caused by strife about religion. Close by the cruciform church of St. Michael at Houghton is the Royal Kepyer School, founded by charter of Queen Elizabeth, and endowed by John Heath of Kepyer with lands formerly belonging to Kepyer Hospital, of which we read in Chapter XI. The original idea of this school, however, was Bernard Gilpin's, and he, an old writer tells us, "builded a schole allowing a maintenance for a master and an usher". He went further than this, indeed, for he made it his business himself to carry on beyond the grammar school limit the education of the more promising of the school children. The result was that Kepyer School became the nursing mother of many eminent scholars, among whom was Hugh Broughton, the most accomplished Hebraist of Queen Elizabeth's days. At present the number of boys attending the Royal Kepyer School does not exceed thirty, though it may be anticipated that this old school will advance to more ample usefulness when it is found possible to bring it into line with the general public system of secondary education.

The Grammar School at Stockton-on-Tees came into being in its present form as late as 1900, but it had its origin in the old Blue-coat School, which had been carried on since the eighteenth century under a trust comprising endowments and gifts from several sources. When the effects of the system of free public elementary education began to be apparent, it was seen that it would be well to devote the funds of the Blue-coat Trust exclusively to the purposes of secondary education, and, in the result, the Stockton Grammar School was established on the Blue-coat foundation, and has become one of the

public secondary schools of the county, recognized by the County Council for the holding of County Scholarships and made subject to the Board of Education for secondary schools. There are, at present, about 100 boys on the school register.

We can but mention among the remaining principal grammar schools in the county that of Barnard Castle, with a school-roll of some 250 boys, the old grammar school at Wolsingham, which numbers about 100 boys, and Norton Grammar School.

It is of interest to note in passing that comparatively few of the old English grammar schools were in any true sense founded by those to whom their origin is usually ascribed. In very many cases they were the old chantry schools under new names, and we often find, as in the case of Darlington Grammar School, that the endowment of the chantry was transferred to the grammar school.

All these old grammar schools were designed by their founders to provide for the children of their several towns a liberal education, as it was then understood, both elementary and secondary, as we say to-day, but, in the course of time, they had, many of them, come to give elementary education only. Soon after the introduction, in 1870, of a public system of compulsory elementary education, it became clear that these ancient foundations ought to be made purely secondary schools. They all, therefore, to-day, in reorganized forms, provide for the needs of secondary education in their respective localities, and most of them have a classical as well as a modern side. It may be added that Durham School, the Royal Kepyer School at Houghton-le-Spring, and Wolsingham Grammar School are carried on independently of the regulations of the Board of Education for secondary schools.

To provide for the needs of elementary education, public elementary schools have, by authority of Parliament, been provided, which, together with the denominational elementary schools, are under the control of local education committees and of the County Councils, and are supervised by the Board of Education in London. Every boy and girl has to attend one of these schools, or some other proper school, up to the age of fourteen, and if their parents wish them to keep longer at school, they can go to a secondary school, provided that, by means of a scholarship or some other way, the expense of their further schooling can be found. If, however, as more usually is the case, they leave school at fourteen, and start earning their living, they can and should avail themselves of the Evening Continuation Classes, and classes and lectures for teaching crafts, such as carpentry, painting, printing, drawing, bookbinding and others, which are provided by the County Council. Every boy and girl ought to know well one good craft, besides the work which they do for their living.

Some boys whose parents are not rich may show such love for learning that it seems well they should go to the University. To help them to do so scholarships are provided at most secondary schools, and many men of mark by such means have attained to useful and honourable positions.

Among the many educational foundations established by the Church of England in modern times, the University of Durham, founded in 1832 by the Dean and Chapter, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1837, stands first in the Palatinate. The system of education there embraces Divinity, Greek, Mathematics, Hebrew, Medicine, Surgery, and many other subjects, of all which there are Professors. As we have seen, the old castle of

Ushaw College

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the Prince-Bishops at Durham has been given up for the use of the University.

Four miles west of Durham city, on the bleak hill-side, looking down into the valley of the Browney, is St. Cuthbert's College at Ushaw, an institution which combines under one system the education side by side of clerical and lay students, with the after-training of such of them as are called to become clergymen. This college had its origin in the great college at Douai in Flanders, founded in 1568 by Cardinal Allen, to serve as well for training Englishmen to become priests as for giving general education to English boys. From Douai a constant stream of English priests passed over into England to minister to those who kept to the old faith, and many of them, being discovered by the government, suffered torture and death under the penal laws then in force. In 1793 the French revolutionists seized Douai College, and imprisoned the professors and most of the students. After a year's imprisonment, such of them as remained, about twenty-six in number, were set free, and took their way to England, which by that time had so far changed as to offer them a place of refuge. At Crook Hall, an old mansion near Lanchester, they first established themselves, and it is interesting to recall the fact that the celebrated historian, Dr. Lingard, acted for a short time as President of the college, and after years of devotion in many ways to its interests was buried in the college cemetery. In 1808 the college was removed to a new building at Ushaw, where, greatly enlarged, it is to-day. It is pleasant to be able to add that since 1900 Ushaw College has been connected with Durham University, and is now affiliated to it, and Ushaw students are able to count residence in their own college as residence in the University.

Questions

1. What advantages have Durham men obtained by being represented in the House of Commons? Would they have been better off if they had kept their old Palatinate Council?
2. What reasons, taken together, made unnecessary the continuance of Durham as a separate State?
3. Why were the Palatinate powers transferred to the Crown instead of being abolished?
4. What local authority provides and looks after small holdings?

CHAPTER XXX

Being the Story of the Tyneside Boroughs and of the other Ports in the Palatinate

From the sea at Tynemouth to beyond the confluence of the Derwent with the Tyne the river banks are given over to the uses of industry and commerce. Quays, wharves, and warehouses line the riverside, and the din made by the shipbuilders answers to the clatter of the engine-makers, while smoke from the iron-works and from innumerable factory chimneys combines with the fumes from chemical-works to pollute the breeze which blows up Tyne from the eastern sea.

To understand the growth of the Palatinate river and sea ports, we ought to get a clear idea about the early pre-eminence of Newcastle, so far as trade by way of the sea with the rest of Britain and the outside world is concerned.

The word Port is derived from the Latin *Porta*, and means a gate. Our ancestors used the word in this its primary sense, and called the gates in their city walls giving access to the open country, ports. Thus, they would talk of a Sallyport in a city wall, meaning an opening in the wall through which a sally, or sudden attack could be made upon besiegers. In like manner

there were properly and regularly appointed, because usually the most convenient, places on the sea coast and on the banks of larger, navigable rivers, for people to pass out, as through a gate, on to shipboard, and also for the passage of goods going to purchasers beyond the seas. This explains, too, why such goods are called *Ex*ports, for they start on their journey from, and by way of, a port, or sea gate, as one may say, and also why goods coming into a country through its ports are known as *Im* or *in* ports. It is easy to understand why it is a great advantage and in every way helpful to commercial and social growth and well-being for any seaside or riverside town to become the recognized place of departure and arrival of people and goods in relation to the over-sea countries, and it is not matter of surprise that there should be much rivalry and competition between different places for the benefits which must come to those who live and ply their trades or crafts in a port. This kind of competition we see in full play all round us to-day—London, Liverpool, Southampton, Plymouth, Glasgow, and others—all great ports, and all keen competitors for the world's carrying-trade. These considerations have affected, to the fullest extent, the origin and growth of the Palatinate Ports. The map shows us that there are four possible places in the county where ports or gates leading to the world beyond seas might come to be formed, the sea-coast and the lower parts of the Rivers Tyne, Wear, and Tees, and we find that, in fact, ports have sprung up, having their origin for the most part in very ancient times, in all four places. On the sea-coast we have Sunderland and the Hartlepools, while on the Tees is Stockton, and on the Tyne are Gateshead, Jarrow, and South Shields. Sunderland, or Wearmouth, like South Shields, may be said to bear a dual character, being both a riverside and a seaside port. While there

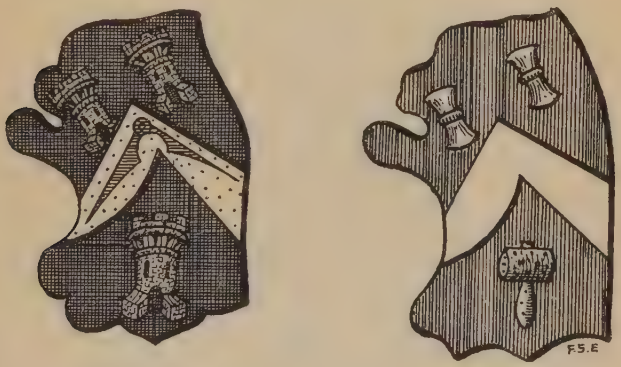
must have been, even in early times, a certain amount of rivalry between the Durham ports for such sea-going trade as there was, we must look outside our county for the beginning of the story of the commerce of the North-east coast—to the northern bank of Tyne, to the spot where Robert Courthose set up the *New Castle* on the hill above the bridge of Hadrian. It was this bridge, carrying the road which gave the readiest means of communication between the navigable Tyne and South Britain, which determined where the first great seaport in the North should be.

Newcastle belongs to Northumberland, and we must not tell its story here, except to say that, from the earliest times, the authority of the Burgesses of Newcastle was enforced over the whole port of Tyne, so that no man on either bank or at the river's mouth might set up any wharf, harbour, or quay for the loading or unloading of ship's cargoes without their leave. In course of time, backed by the great power of the Earls of Northumberland, and fortified by Royal Charter, Newcastle strove to extend its rights so far as to prevent the setting-up of any port on the sea-coast of Durham, and even succeeded in getting Stockton-on-Tees to be recognized as a part of the port of Newcastle.

You may be sure that Durham men were not slow to resent this grasping policy of the men of Newcastle, and, protected and encouraged by their Bishop and Prince, they set up, in defiance of Newcastle, wharves and quays at Gateshead, Jarrow, South Shields, Wearmouth, Hartlepool, and Stockton. At last, however, in the days of Henry I, the quarrel with Newcastle, as far as the Tyne was concerned, was settled by an arrangement, under which the customs, i. e. the right to have ports and to levy dues on shipping and merchandise, of St. Cuthbert's side of the river were confirmed, by Royal

Charter, to the Bishop, so that he could grant them to men of his own towns. From these small beginnings —quays, capable of accommodating the little seagoing ships of the middle ages—have sprung the flourishing Boroughs on the south bank of the Tyne, and the other seaports of the Palatinate.

Of these ports, Gateshead stands first in importance. It may perhaps, at first sight, seem curious that Gateshead did not become a mere suburb or appanage of



1 2

ARMS OF THE COMPANIES OF (1) FREE MASONS AND (2) SCULPTORS, GATESHEAD

Newcastle, as Southwark, on the south side of Thames, in effect, became with regard to London. That it did not, but rather retained its independence, in spite of the threatening attitude, through many centuries, of its great neighbour on the opposite bank, the Palatinate jurisdiction of the Bishops is to be thanked, and the attitude of the two towns, the one to the other, was symbolized by the gate in the middle of the old stone bridge spanning the Tyne between them, which bore, on

its northern side, the arms of Newcastle, and, on the other, the cross and lions, so familiar to all Durham men, of the Prince-Bishops. Nevertheless, Gateshead had a

Arms of the Company of Bricklayers and Tilers, Gateshead

narrow escape of being permanently absorbed by Newcastle, for Henry VIII, in his anxiety to lessen the power of the Prince-Bishops, granted a charter whereby Gateshead was annexed to Newcastle, and a part of

Newcastle it remained until Queen Mary came to the throne, when it was restored to the Bishop's jurisdiction.

Of the origin of Gateshead we have no reliable information. It may have been the Roman station of

ARMS OF THE COMPANY OF GLAZIERS, GATESHEAD

Gabrosentum, mentioned in the Itinerary of Antonine, which a writer of the eighteenth century derives from the Celtic *Gaffr*, a goat, and *Pen*, a head, and it is certain that chroniclers of the middle ages, writing in Latin, called Gateshead *Caput Caprae*, the She-goat's Head.

Evidence of Roman occupation of the site of Gateshead is also found in the fact that many Roman remains have been dug up there. Whatever may have been the origin of the name, we shall be safe in saying that the founding of a monastery, in the early part of the seventh century, on the Roman road from Chester-le-Street to Newcastle, at the point where it crossed the Tyne, must have led gradually to the settlement of people round about the bridge head, and so a town must have gradually sprung up, in like manner as the City of Westminster, by the Thames side, owes its origin to the guest houses for travellers on their way along the Watling Street from the north-west of Britain to the sea at Dover, which were set up on Thorney Island around the great Abbey of Westminster.

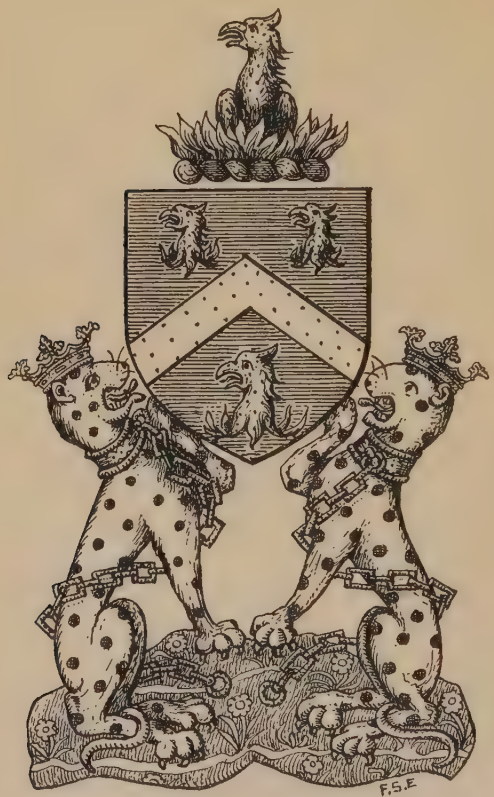
Through the Middle Ages the history of Gateshead was much like that of the other towns near the Borders—the gradual, but steady, extension of trade and municipal institutions, encouraged by charters from kings and bishops conferring privileges, which characterized all middle-age cities and towns, often interrupted by incursions of the Scots, and by forays promoted by the jealousies and conflicting interests of the great feudal lords. Gateshead, like other towns, had its churches and chapels set up by pious founders in the middle ages, in Norman times the Parish Church of St. Mary, and, later, St. Edmund's Chapel, restored some forty years ago, which belonged to the Convent of St. Bartholomew in Newcastle, and was given to them by Bishop Nicholas de Farneham in the thirteenth century, and another St. Edmund's, which, after the dissolution of the monasteries, was annexed to a hospital, the mastership of which carried with it the Rectory of Gateshead. In the troublous times of the Civil War Gateshead suffered severely from the constant skirmishes between the

King's forces under the Marquess of Newcastle and Lesley's Scottish troops, at which time Gateshead House, belonging to Sir Thomas Riddell, a King's man, was much damaged. This house survived the troubles of

Arms of the Company of Saddlers, Gateshead

those days only to fall beneath the fury of a mob in the year following the Jacobite rising of 1745. There is an old tradition that Defoe wrote "The surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe" at Gateshead, but, although,

had he been living there when he wrote his celebrated story, he might have gathered useful material from the sea-going folk whom he would have met on the Gates-



Arms of the Company of Painter-Stainers

head quays, modern research has made it clear that Defoe was living at Stoke Newington, near London, when he wrote that famous book of adventure.

The growth of Gateshead in recent years has been

remarkable, for, whereas in 1871 there were less than 50,000 inhabitants in the town, to-day the parliamentary and county borough, seaport and market town of Gateshead, can count 110,000 folk within its bounds, while its shipbuilding yards, locomotive and marine engine-works, iron-works, brass-works, wire-rope and chain and cable works, with the chemical and glass works, attest both the wealth of the borough and the strenuous lives of its people. Another point you may notice in this connexion is that the annual value of the houses and land occupied by Gateshead folk is taken, for the purpose of the levying of rates for the general expenses of the corporation and for the maintenance of the poor, at £425,859. This is called the rateable value of the borough, and you should remember that it represents only the yearly value of the houses and land within the borough, and is in addition to the income arising from all the other forms of wealth belonging to Gateshead men.

Six miles down stream from Gateshead is Jarrow, till recent years called a village, and now a municipal borough and river port with a population of 34,295. The name of Jarrow is said to be derived from a British word—*gyrwy*—meaning watery or marshy. This may be correct, for it is certain that the most noticeable feature of the neighbourhood of Jarrow in British times, and for centuries after, must have been the bay the shrunken remains of which we call Jarrow Slake. Even down to late Saxon times the Slake spread over the country as far to the south as Boldon, where it received the waters of the Don. Hence the name which Boldon bore in early Saxon days—Donmouth. We may be sure, having regard to the finding at Jarrow of Roman altars, that the Romans had there a camp, designed, in conjunction with the camps at Tynemouth and Blake Chesters on the north bank of the Tyne, and the camp at

South Shields on its south bank, to protect the entrance of the river, and to carry on the line of defence from the Wall's end at Segedunum, at the head of the long reach, to the sea.

The greatest name in Jarrow's story is that of Bede, of whom we have, in Chapter V, said a few words. Taught from childhood by the Abbot Benedict Biscop, brought up from seven years of age in Wearmouth Monastery, at Biscop's death in 690, he was removed to Benedict's other monastery at Jarrow. At Jarrow he seems to have remained for the rest of his days, busying himself in the many duties of monastic life and in acquiring good learning, which he was not slow to impart to others. Among his writings, the most important is the book called "The Ecclesiastical History of the People of the Engles", which remains to-day the principal authority for the history of England up to Bede's time. Among other books, he wrote a life of St. Cuthbert, a treatise "On the Nature of Things", wherein he tells us about the composition of the earth, air, fire and water, of the winds, and of the stars and comets, what they are, and of their movements. In another book he sets forth the history of the natural divisions of time—years, months, and days—among ancient nations and his own people, also how the moon influences the earth and its inhabitants, and how to find out the time of Easter. Copies of the Bible, too, he made, and you may see, in the library of the Dean and Chapter at Durham, a fairly written book of the Gospels which is described in the fourteenth-century catalogue, as being "in the hand of Bede". You have read elsewhere, may be, how the good Bede worked on steadily, day by day, at whatever came to his hand, whether it was threshing corn, working in the garden, housework, baking, feeding the calves and lambs, taking his part in the daily church services, or

composing books or copying them. All was one to him, as long as it was his proper work, given to him to be done. You know too, perhaps, how on Ascension Day, 735, he died, aged 62, in St. Paul's Monastery at Jarrow, dictating to a scribe almost to the last, so that he should lose no part of the precious time given to him on earth for worthy use. The church in which Bede sang and prayed, though altered, repaired, and added to from time to time, still stands above the waters of Jarrow Slake, a different sight to-day to what it was in Saxon times, when it was surrounded by the monastic buildings, with their gardens, orchards, and fields, and when the fleet belonging to Egfrid, the King, might be seen lying at anchor in the Slake. It is a far cry from the days of Bede to our own, and there is little in the appearance of present day Jarrow to remind us of its earlier life, though, if you will think a little, you can see that the lesson of Bede's life, his constant devotion to the daily task, whatever it might be, has been learnt by many of those who have, by their industry, made Jarrow what it is to-day. Docks, quays, shipbuilding yards, engine-works, chemical-works, foundries, paper-mills, copper and cement works, lead-works, all the industries, with their noise and bustle, seen in Jarrow to-day are but results, accumulated through the centuries, of the working of the spirit of duty-doing which was in the venerable Bede, and in men like him, and we need not fear to depreciate the fame of other good men if we say that Jarrow owes much to the example set by one of its earliest citizens, the simple monk Bede.

It was not until 1875 that Jarrow received its Royal Charter of incorporation as a municipal borough, and its commission of the peace. Since that time, the borough has grown rapidly, and in 1902 its area was extended. In 1904 a town hall, with municipal offices, and a

county court were built, and the corporation maintains, among other undertakings, a hospital and recreation grounds. Some little idea of the wealth of Jarrow you may gather from the fact that the rateable value of the borough is £121,800.

The remaining port of the Tyne on the Durham side of the river is South Shields, now a county borough and seaport, with a population of 111,500. South Shields, like its sister town on the north bank, got its name from the fishers' shiels or huts set up, in old days, on its site. The Romans had a camp for the defence of the river mouth at the spot called to-day the Lawe—which was formerly an island at high tide—and among the remains there discovered, in addition to the memorial stone figured on p. 23, is an altar, having on one side an ox and a sacrificial knife, and on the other a ladle and an urn. After the Roman camp had decayed and been forgotten, on through the Middle Ages almost to our own time, South Shields remained a village, at first a mere collection of fishermen's huts, though to them were soon added the dwellings of the salt workers, and it was not until 1850 that the old village had become sufficiently important to receive a charter of incorporation as a municipal borough.

In the fifteenth century the salt industry became of importance at South Shields, and we read that, in 1489, two iron salt pans were established there. A writer of the eighteenth century says that, in his time, upwards of 200 pans for working salt were at South Shields, and adds, "it is astonishing what prodigious quantities of coal are consumed annually in the execution of this business". As much as £80,000 annually was, at one time, paid for duty on salt at South Shields, but the salt industry decayed, and glass making and chemical manufacturing gradually took its place. So far as

modern times are concerned, the first glass-works at South Shields were set up in 1619 by Sir Robert Mansel, Vice-Admiral of England, who placed in them certain glass workers who had fled from Lorraine owing to the disturbed state of their country. Since those earlier days a tendency has set in, fostered by the introduction of rapid means of communication and transit—railways, steamships, electric locomotion, telegraphs and telephones—for the industries carried on in the Tyneside boroughs to become much alike in them all, so that we find engine boiler, chain-cable, and anchor works, rope-walks and sail-cloth manufactories at South Shields as at Gateshead, while ship-building, which first became one of the industries of South Shields in 1720, has declined during the last twenty years.

The great fact which is at the foundation of the prosperity of all Tyneside is the proximity of the Durham and Northumberland coal-field, which means cheap and abundant fuel for manufacturing purposes. Another fact, which has immensely stimulated the commerce of the Tyne ports, was the completion, in 1892, of the harbour works (begun in 1854) by the erection of the two great piers, the southern one a mile in length, which jut out into the sea from Tynemouth and South Shields. Before these piers were built the entrance to the Tyne was extraordinarily dangerous, for, while on the north side of the channel the Black Middens rocks threatened the mariner, on the south the treacherous Herd Sand lured him to destruction. Now a great harbour of refuge, formed by the two gigantic piers, stretches out to sea for nearly a mile, while the pier-heads, approaching each other, leave a fair way for ships between them of a quarter of a mile. Thus the danger to ship-men of making the ports on the Tyneside is reduced to a minimum, and they may now feel safe

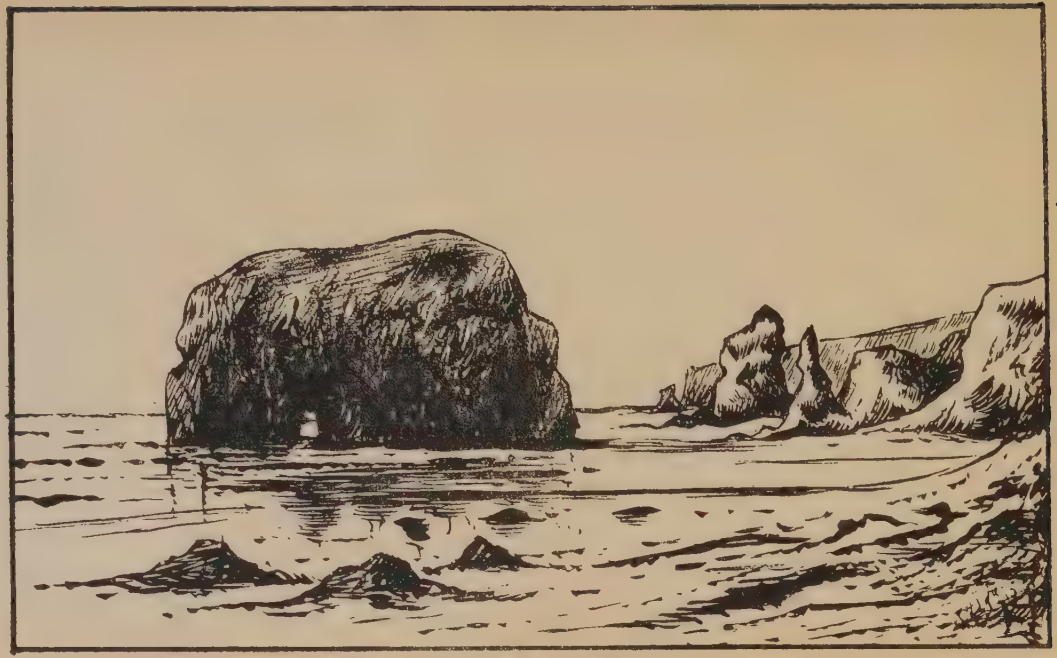
when they have passed between the lights on the pier-heads.

Not only has the passage into the Tyne been made safe for ships, but the ports have been improved and deepened by dredging, so that ships of the largest size can be accommodated at the South Shields quays. Notable features of the borough are the Town Hall in the Market Square, the steam ferry over the Tyne to North Shields, the marine parks and recreation grounds, and the pier parade, while the beach is over a mile long.

It is claimed for South Shields that it was the birthplace of the lifeboat, which is said to have been invented by a Mr. Greathead, in 1789, as a consequence of the widespread grief and horror caused by the wreck of the "Adventure" on the Herd Sand, when the whole crew, who had climbed into the rigging, perished, falling into the sea, one by one, as they became exhausted and numbed with cold, in the sight of a vast concourse of people, none of whom could reach them or render any aid.

Four miles south-east of South Shields, on the sea-beach, are the torn and shattered fragments of limestone known as Marsden Rocks, weird masses shaped by the winds and waves into suggestions of towers, arches, bridges, and ramparts. Through the principal of these rocks, some one hundred yards from the shore, is a passage through which a boat can pass.

Hartlepool with its memories of St. Bega, foundress in 640, by command of Aidan the Bishop, of the monastery of *Hereteu* in Hartlepool; of the glorious St. Hilda, abbess here, and afterwards at Whitby, under whose invocation the old church at Hartlepool, with its high tower, sea-mark for sailors, still stands; of that dark time the year 800, when the Danes came in from the sea, and



Marsden Rocks

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destroyed, in the words of the chronicler, "that famous emporium of Hartlepool"; Hartlepool of old time fortified with walls strengthened by parapets and bastions (remains of which still exist) and reminding us of Robert de Brus, companion in arms of the Conqueror, Lord of Hart and Hartness, progenitor of the Bruces of Annandale destined to become Kings of Scotland; Hartlepool which saw Bishop Pudsey's fleet and warlike stores, which he meant to conduct in person to the Holy Land; Hartlepool, this place of ancient memories, claims attention to-day on other grounds than these. Present-day Hartlepool is a municipal borough and seaport with a population of 23,000, which, like its off-shoot West Hartlepool, the population of which is nearly three times as great as its mother town, owes the greater part of its importance to the difficulties attendant upon the navigation of Tees mouth, by which way the coal from South Durham intended for export had been usually carried from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. Now railways from all parts of the county converge on the Hartlepools, carrying coals, as well as minerals from the western dales, while, by the same means, timber and grain from beyond seas are carried to all parts of England. This remarkable development of the old town and its off-shoot began in 1847, when the new harbour and docks were opened. Since that time many acres of dock accommodation have been added, and no limit can be set to the steady increase in the future of the export and import trade of this ancient port.

The old borough town of Stockton-on-Tees, four miles from Tees mouth and ten miles from the sea, received its charter of incorporation, early in the fourteenth century, from the Bishop. Its old castle, destroyed after the Civil War, was one of the principal residences of the

Bishops up to the middle of the seventeenth century, and it was here that Bishop Farnham "betoke himself to contemplation" after his abdication in 1248. Until late in the seventeenth century Stockton remained, what it had been for ages, a prosperous borough town, manufacturing linen and sail-cloth, and dealing in lead, butter, and bacon, which in later times were sent by sea, in considerable quantities, to London. About 1680, however, owing to the decay of Hartlepool, the trade of that port began to find its way to Stockton in spite of the difficulties of navigation at Tees mouth caused by the rapidity of the current and by the sands on either side of the channel, which rendered passage of the river estuary dangerous when easterly winds were blowing. When, however, as we have read, the prosperity of Hartlepool revived in 1847, and when, about the same time, Middlesborough, four miles nearer the sea than Stockton, began to rise into importance as a port, Stockton, in its turn, received a check to its sea-going trade. Notwithstanding all this, Stockton flourishes to-day, for the development of the Cleveland iron mines has enormously stimulated the iron trade, and the smelting and rolling of iron, the building of iron ships, and the making of rails, bridges, engines, boilers, and gas holders provide constant work for Stockton men. The making of pottery and bottles, too, are old industries at Stockton. All latter-day improvements are to be found in the borough, and the corporation controls the supplies of gas and electricity, and nearly half of the water supply. The markets and the quays, with the port dues, belong to them, and they also own cemeteries, hospitals, library, baths, a park and recreation grounds. With regard to the port dues, they have not always belonged to the borough, for, up to comparatively recent times, the port of Stockton belonged to New-

castle, and the good folk of Stockton had the mortification to see the port dues collected at Stockton go into the pockets of the burgesses of Newcastle.

CHAPTER XXXI

Last Words about Durham

We have sketched the story of our County from its beginning in the far-away days when Romanized Briton and Engle sea-rover strove for mastery over the land between Tweed and Humber, through the Middle Ages, with their system of regulated life, made up of duties and rights for landholder, citizen, and villager alike, and through the times that followed, when the discipline of the Middle Ages was swept away and gave place to unrestrained liberty and unlimited competition between man and man. Through those many centuries of changeful life we have come to our own days, when English folk, weary of the gospel of competition, are seeking how they may reconstruct the old system of rights and duties and mutual charity, and adapt it to present-day needs and conditions.

In closing our tale, we may suggest a thought that may be made by all Durham boys and girls an abiding one, one they may take with them wherever they go, and cherish as a priceless inheritance. That thought is, that onwards from the time when the body of St. Cuthbert, after many wanderings, found its long resting-place in Dunholm, it has been the claim of Durham men and women that they are "halywercfolc", people bound to the doing of good works; and that, although it is no longer necessary to defend against sacrilege the body of St. Cuthbert, the principal good work originally implied in

the phrase "halywerc", there is still holy work to be done, work for the good of our fellows, in which every Durham child can have a share. So carry this thought with you through life, and it will help you, when you have come to be men and women, to do good service to others, not thinking of any material reward; and ever remember, too, that you are all sons and daughters of Durham land—the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert.

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